

LIVES OF THE SCOTTISH COVENANTERS

VOL. I



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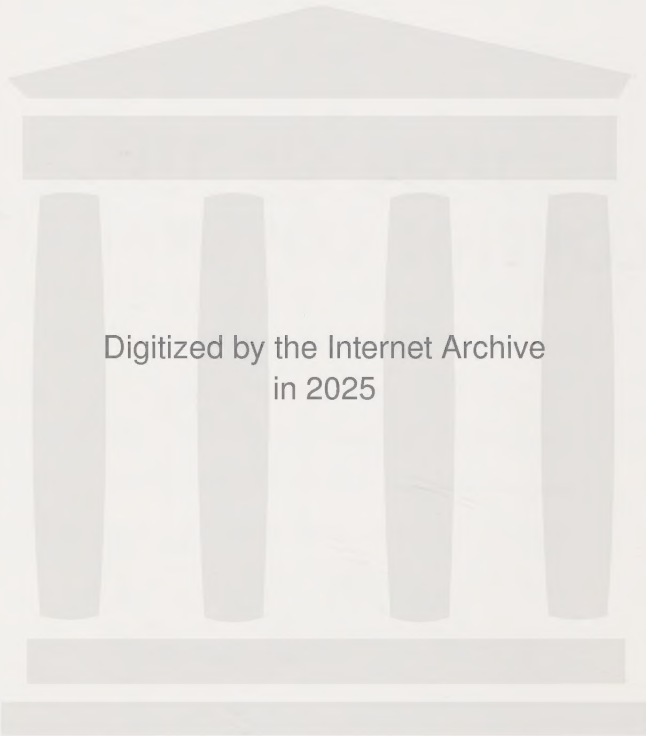
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Lives of the Scottish
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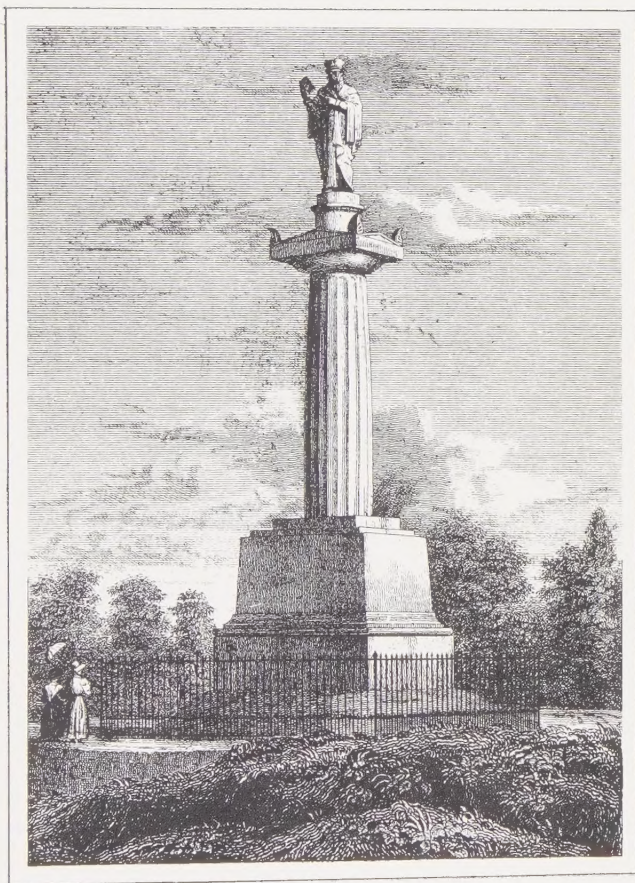
Volume 1

LIVES OF THE
SCOTTISH COVENANTERS

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MONUMENT TO THE MEMORY OF
JOHN KNOX,
ERECTED IN THE NECROPOLIS GLASGOW

LIVES OF THE
SCOTTISH COVENANTERS;

BEING

A BRIEF HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE MOST EMINENT

NOBLEMEN, GENTLEMEN, MINISTERS, AND OTHERS,

WHO TESTIFIED OR SUFFERED FOR THE CAUSE OF REFORMATION IN
SCOTLAND, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH
CENTURY, TO THE YEAR 1688.

ORIGINALLY COMPILED

BY JOHN HOWIE OF LOCHGOIN;

NOW REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED

BY

A CLERGYMAN OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND;

AND ENRICHED WITH

A PREFACE AND NOTES,

BY WILLIAM M'GAVIN, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF "THE PROTESTANT," AND "PROTESTANT REFORMATION VINDICATED."

GLASGOW AND LONDON: W. R. M'PHUN & SON,
BOOKSELLERS TO HIS LATE ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE CONSORT.

THE
SCOTS WORTHIES,

CONTAINING

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GLASGOW AND LONDON: W. R. M'PHUN,

Publisher to His Royal Highness the Prince Consort.

1858.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IN originally announcing to the public, the present edition of the SCOTS WORTHIES, it was proposed, “*First*, To give the original text, revised, corrected, and improved throughout. *Secondly*, To enlarge such lives as seemed unnecessarily or improperly curtailed. *Thirdly*, To insert the most important of those which are omitted. *Fourthly*, To accompany the whole with notes, containing such statements or reflections as could not with propriety be introduced, into the body of the work.”

How far, and with what ability, this plan has been fulfilled, it belongs to the public to judge. The Editor can only say, that, with regard to every part of it, it has been his desire and endeavour, fully to realize it.

In his attempt to do so, however, much more difficulty has been experienced than he at first anticipated. In particular with regard to the first object—the improvement of the text—he has frequently found himself puzzled to a degree, which a person unacquainted with the subject would not conceive. With a strong desire, on the one hand, to alter it as little as possible, and on the other to render it more simple and intelligible, he has found himself, in regard to some passages, almost at a stand. This indeed he felt to be altogether a very delicate part of his labours. He can, however, safely aver, that in no instance has he substituted a different reading, where he did not believe himself to be justified by facts, and except with a view of setting in a truer and more favourable light

the history and character of our worthy forefathers. In mere verbal alterations, he has not to his knowledge retrenched a single word which was necessary to the meaning intended to be expressed; and to no extent has he changed the sentiment, but in cases, where either his own enquiries pointed out an error, or where there was evidently implied an inconsistency with the best established principles of philosophy and religion. A few passages, of considerable length, it will be observed, are excluded from the narrative, which were viewed as containing statements and eliciting opinions altogether at variance, with the current and received belief of the present age. And in justification of the course he has pursued in such instances, he refers to the notes, by which his excellent friend Mr. M^cGavin, has enriched the work.

With regard to the enlargements—these are introduced into the current of the narrative without any mark of distinction—sometimes, in his own words, and sometimes in those of the authors from whom they are derived. They are of all sorts and dimensions—in some instances consisting of a line, or a paragraph, and in others extending to a page or pages. He hopes they will be found both numerous and valuable.

In reference to the *new* lives, or sketches, he has proceeded, in a great measure, on the same principle. Some of them he has composed, from a variety of separate and incidental notices, scattered over different volumes. In others he has adopted, generally, both the sentiment and expression of the authors he has had recourse to. But even of these it will appear, on enquiry, that he has not simply copied them, and that in every case they are more or less altered, with a view to the nature and plan of the work.

As to the notes, he begs leave to remark, that for *all* those without a signature he is not responsible; that many of them are inserted from the previous editions, and were composed by the original compiler of the work. In some of these there are

opinions advanced to which he cannot subscribe, though he did not feel warranted to exclude them. The propriety of distinguishing his own, by affixing some mark to them, did not occur to him while the work was in the press.

He has only one topic farther to advert to. In the former impressions of this the improved edition of the Scots Worthies he was induced, by the advice of some friends, to leave out the treatise entitled “God’s Justice exemplified in his Judgments upon Persecutors,” but finding it was considered a want in the book, he avails himself of the opportunity which the printing of a new edition affords him, and has now added it to the work. And with regard to the few lives which have hitherto been inserted as the Supplement, these have been excluded, partly from necessity as tending to swell the volume to an undue size, and partly from choice, as not falling within that period of history by which it seemed proper that the work should be limited. Indeed, on this point it is sufficient to state, that with the additions to these Memoirs, which it was in his power to make, by the lives of many others equally worthy of such a notice, an entire volume, and not a mere supplement, would have been requisite. Should circumstances seem to favour the design, it is not improbable that such a volume may be forthcoming. He is already possessed of materials for a considerable part of it,—materials which with proper additions will form a very interesting series of Biography, extending, it is anticipated, to about the middle of the last century. Such a work has been suggested to him, by several individuals whose opinion he respects, and will constitute, he hopes, no improper accompaniment to the present publication.

In lieu of the retrenchments now specified, this volume contains a Supplement, including short notices of many sufferers, not enumerated among the preceding Worthies; and an Appendix, containing several interesting articles, referring to subjects mentioned in the Lives.

Upon the whole, the present will be found in a great measure, a new work. It contains upwards of twelve biographical sketches to be found in no previous edition, and with the other enlargements, consists in its present form, of much more letter-press than has ever appeared under the same title.

From the very nature of his labours, he is sensible that there must be many instances in which amendment will be necessary. Of important mistakes he is not conscious, and those of a less considerable kind shall be carefully corrected in every future reprint. He commits it, with all its imperfections, to the perusal and patronage of an indulgent public.

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* The articles to which an asterisk is prefixed, are *additions* to the work. In general, the names of laymen have titles annexed to them; so that those which have not (with a few exceptions) may be regarded as belonging to the church.

JOHN WELCH,
ROBERT BOYD,
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JOHN GORDON, Viscount Kenmuir,
ROBERT CUNNINGHAM,
JAMES MITCHELL,
ALEXANDER HENDERSON,
GEORGE GILLESPIE,
JOHN M'CLELLAND,
DAVID CALDERWOOD,
HUGH BINNING,
ANDREW GRAY,
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SIR ARCHIBALD JOHNSTON, Lord Warriston,
JAMES WOOD,
WILLIAM GUTHRIE,
ROBERT BLAIR,
HUGH M'KAIZ,
JOHN NEVAY,
JOHN LIVINGSTONE,
JOHN SEMPLE,
* ALEXANDER SMITH
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GOD'S JUSTICE, &c.

PREFACE.

THE REFORMATION in Scotland was effected by much humbler means than that of England. In the latter country the king had a principal hand in the work ; in the former it was commenced and carried on by the people, against the inclination, and in spite of the powerful opposition made by the sovereign in the persons of James V., his widow, and his daughter Mary. From these circumstances, the churches in the two kingdoms received impressions of a very different character. That of England, while greatly reformed in point of doctrine, and delivered from the bondage of Rome, retained many of the ceremonies, the habits, and almost all the frame-work, of the previous establishment. In Scotland, these were generally swept away ; and an order was established, simple and unostentatious, having more of a spiritual kingdom, and much less of the splendour of this world, than our neighbour in the south.

The first of the Worthies whose lives are given in the following work, such as Hamilton, Mill, and Wishart, had to encounter the Man of Sin in the height of his power ; and for the sake of the truth, they yielded their bodies to the flames. The consequence was the opposite of what the ruling party expected. They thought to extirpate heresy by burning to death all who were infected with it. But by the private circulation of Wickliff's translation of the Scriptures, which the lowland Scotch could read, and by the preaching of such men as the above named, the reformed doctrines had spread more extensively than the popish clergy were aware of : the heroic constancy of the martyrs, even in the midst of the flames, had the effect of awakening the minds of many to reflect on the

cause of such constancy on the one hand, and such cruel persecution on the other; and contrasting the holy lives of the sufferers with the profligacy of their persecutors, they came to the conclusion that the cause of the sufferers was the cause of God, which they found it their duty to espouse; and thus, as of old, "the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church."

A large proportion, if not a majority, of the people, at least in the lowlands, were Protestants, by the time that Knox began to preach among them; and such was the effect of his labours, that in a few years almost the whole population of the south and west, including nobility and gentry of the first rank, renounced popery, and joined the Reformation. The Protestant Presbyterian religion was established, not exactly in its present form, but as near it, perhaps, as the state of learning, and the small number of persons properly qualified to be pastors, would admit. This victory over the Beast was achieved at the expense of some of the best blood in the kingdom. The victors overcame by the blood of the Lamb, and the word of their testimony, and loved not their lives unto the death. They obtained the salvation of their own souls by the blood of atonement. They made that the subject of their testimony, or preaching; and the truth prevailed to the overthrow of many a strong-hold of error. The Presbyterian establishment was settled with the consent of the great body of the people, who became devotedly attached to it, as they continue to this day.

It might have been expected that now the church of Scotland would enjoy peace and prosperity; that the power of the Pope and his clergy being completely broken, there would at least be no more persecution, or suffering of any kind, for conscience' sake. But the case was far otherwise. A more severe trial awaited the faithful of the land, in comparison of which, what they suffered from popish rulers appears as nothing. Matters went on pretty well during the minority of James VI., and for a while after he had assumed the reins of government. He professed to be a Presbyterian, thanked God that he was king in the purest kirk in the world, and affected to hold the English service book in contempt. But when he succeeded

to the crown of England, he was so fascinated by the glory of her church; and his weak head was so affected by the fumes of incense which were presented by the bishops, that he determined to have bishops in Scotland too. With a spirit of manly freedom, the Scots ministers were accustomed to speak their mind, and tell the truth, whether agreeable to him or not. With this he had been sadly annoyed; but now he had found a race of men more pliable; an order, whose appointment being vested in himself, he could always make subservient to his purposes of extravagance and ambition, to both of which he was greatly addicted; and therefore he determined to put the church of Scotland under the dominion of bishops, and otherwise make it conform to that of England. This made the rest of his reign bitter to himself, and horribly oppressive to his subjects in Scotland, some of the most eminent of whom, such as Andrew Melville and John Welch, suffered imprisonment and exile for no crime, but a faithful adherence to their principles. Charles I. followed precisely in the same tract, without relaxing a whit of his father's oppressions.

But still the suffering during these two reigns was little in comparison of what followed. Charles II., rejected by England, was received and crowned by the Presbyterians in Scotland: but being afterwards defeated by the English at Worcester, he was driven into exile for many years, during all which, the leading Presbyterians in Scotland maintained their loyalty to him with almost absurd tenacity, refusing to submit to Cromwell, though in full and undisputed possession of the country. Many of them would, no doubt, have laid down their lives rather than renounce their king, had the Protector not been a man of too much moderation to put them to that test. Loyalty to Charles was, however, a matter of conscience with them. It was a part of their religion, being included in the covenant which both they and the king had sworn, though by a liberal interpretation of the covenant, they might have inferred, that their obligation ceased, when the king could not protect them, but had fled from them, leaving them to the mercy of the conqueror. Oaths of allegiance bind subjects to stand by their sovereign while he will stand by them; but if he chooses to flee for his personal safety, they have a right to

submit for theirs. On this principle both kingdoms acted, when James II. ran away and left the throne to William and Mary. If oaths are so framed as not to admit of this alternative, they are sinful, and ought to be avoided by every man who wishes to maintain a good conscience. I make these remarks in vindication of those who did submit to Cromwell, as well as to show the sturdy integrity of those who did not.

Of the first who suffered death after Charles' restoration, to wit, Mr. James Guthrie, minister of Stirling, it is thus recorded by Wodrow,—“I have it from good hands, that Mr. Guthrie defended the king's right in a public debate with Hugh Peters, Oliver's chaplain, and from the pulpit he asserted the king's title in the hearing of the English officers.” There is a tradition, that when Cromwell was in Glasgow, he attended the ministry of the worthy Mr. James Durham, in the High Church, who prayed for the king by name, and for his restoration to his dominions; on which, one of the officers said, “Please your highness, shall I shoot him?” “Nay, nay,” said Oliver, “I will shoot him better than you can.” After sermon he sent for him, and spent the evening with him in prayer and religious conversation, which, no doubt, made a favourable impression on the mind of the minister with regard to Cromwell personally; but it is not said that it affected his loyalty. Indeed the most zealous covenanters were the firmest loyalists during the king's exile, and they were the first to promote his restoration.

These were not the men who were likely to be found in arms against their sovereign. It has been the fashion, down to the present day, to accuse them of rebellion, treason, and every thing that is bad. The thing is not only false; but considering the avowed principles of the men, it is impossible it could be true. It was not till after six years of unparalleled oppression on the one hand and suffering on the other, that there was a manifestation of hostile opposition to the government, as in the rising that was dispersed at Pentland; it was twelve years longer before that at Bothwell; and both may be justified upon the natural principle of self-defence. It was not because the king imposed bishops upon them, that they took up arms. It was not because three hundred and fifty of their

most faithful ministers were cast out of their churches, and forbidden, upon pain of death, to preach in the fields. It was because, when they obeyed God by preaching as they had opportunity, not only they, but all who heard them were liable to military execution. Bands of soldiers were continually scouring the country in search of those who dared to worship God, even in the most sequestered spots, and when such were discovered, they were killed upon the spot, or carried away to a mock trial, often put to the torture to make them accuse themselves or their neighbours, and finally executed in the most ignominious manner. There was no way of escape but by some sinful compliance, which, to their pious honest minds, appeared more dreadful than death.

They knew the gospel and loved it, and found it necessary for the life of their souls. This was the reason why with so much eagerness they followed their faithful pastors to the glens and mountains, to hear the word, and even to the dens and caves of the earth, to enjoy Christian fellowship. In proportion as they prized these privileges, they abhorred the ministry of the curates who were imposed upon them, in the room of the ejected ministers. But it was nearly as great a crime not to attend the ministry of the curates, as it was to attend a conventicle. Nay, though they attended no conventicle, but only went to hear an indulged Presbyterian minister, in another parish, because he preached the gospel, which the curates did not, they were held equally guilty of contemning the bishops and their underlings. Soldiers were sometimes set to watch the dismissing of a congregation, to see who were there who did not belong to the parish. To such, certain ensnaring questions were put, which usually led to a disclosure of their principles; and then, at the discretion of the soldiers, they were shot without trial, or sent to prison, and fined or executed.

The country people finding themselves daily exposed to such murderous treatment, while engaged in the worship of God, particularly in the fields, at first took the precaution of setting a watch on some neighbouring eminence, to give a signal when the soldiers were approaching, that they might have time to escape. Afterwards, they began to carry arms

to defend themselves, their wives and children, against lawless violence, while peaceably worshipping God, as they would do against murderers in other circumstances. Farther than this they did not intend to go; and nothing but a perversion of language can call this rebellion. It was in this situation they were found on Loudon hill, when attacked by Claverhouse and his dragoons, which issued in the battle of Drumclog, where, I dare say, to their own astonishment, they found themselves victorious. It had been better for them to have escaped without fighting, or even to have been dispersed by the dragoons with the loss of a few of their number; for then they would have been spared the overwhelming disaster of Bothwell Bridge. They were by no means prepared for such a rencounter; and, I suppose, they would not have thought of such a thing, if they had not been elated by their success at Drumclog. I do not commend their arming and fighting at all, in connection with their worship,* but whatever may be said on this subject on gospel principles, the civil government had no right to condemn them as rebels, for attempting to repel unprincipled and lawless violence; for when men's lives are attacked without law, and contrary to law, as was the case here, it makes no difference that the murderer bears a commission from the king.

The truth is, the king gave himself little concern about the matter. He hated Presbytery as a religion unfit for a gentleman; and like his grandfather, he had been much annoyed by the plain dealing of the ministers, who, at his coronation and afterwards, told him a great many unpalatable truths. Soon after his restoration, he re-established episcopacy in Scotland, not that he cared for one form of church-government more than another; but to put down the spirit of freedom which characterised the Presbyterians, and prepare the way for popery and arbitrary power; for though not an avowed Papist himself, he was much under the influence of his popish brother, who in a great measure directed the affairs of Scotland, even before he succeeded to the crown. These affairs were committed to the management of a council composed of

* See what is said in a note, p. 293.

persons who were seldom sober, and who in their drunken revels, passed those bloody acts which filled the kingdom with desolation. I need not give a detail of the miseries which were suffered for twenty-eight years; but I cannot resist quoting the following comprehensive summary of them by a most able pen.

“ To preach at a separate meeting in a private house, subjected the minister to a fine of five thousand merks;” (equal in efficiency to £1000 of our present money) “ if he preached in the fields, his punishment was death and confiscation of property. The fines of those who countenanced these meetings were increased, and were proportioned to their wealth. For example, Sir George Maxwell of Newark, and Sir George Maxwell of Nether-Pollock, were fined in a sum amounting to nearly eight thousand pounds sterling each, in the course of three years, for absence from their parish church, attendance on conventicles and disorderly baptisms. Landlords were now obliged to make it an article in their leases, and masters in their indentures, that their tenants and apprentices should regularly attend the established places of worship. Recourse was at last had to one of the most detestable measures of a tyrannical government. *Letters of intercommuning* were issued against a great number of the most distinguished Presbyterians, including several ladies of rank, by which they were proscribed as rebels, and cut off from all society; a price, amounting in some instances to five hundred pounds, was fixed on their heads, and every person, not excepting their nearest relatives, was prohibited from conversing with them by word or writing, from receiving or harbouring them, and from supplying them with meat, drink, or clothes, or any of the accommodations or necessities of life, under the pain of being punished with rigour as guilty of the same crimes with the persons intercommuned. It is to be observed, that the highest crime of those who were thus excluded from the pale of society, was preaching at, or attending field conventicles. At the same time, the *Highland host* was brought down upon the western counties. Those who have heard of modern Highland hospitality, or been amused with fables of ancient Highland chivalry, can form no idea of the horror produced by the irruption of those savages, to the number of

ten thousand, armed, besides their accustomed weapons, with spades, shovels and mattocks, and with daggers or dirks, made to fasten to the muzzles of their guns, iron shackles for binding their prisoners, and thumb locks to oblige them to answer the questions that they proposed to them, and discover their concealed treasure. The rapine and outrage committed by this lawless banditti, often without discrimination of conformists from nonconformists, having obliged the government to order them home, the regular troops were sent to replace them, provided with instructions to proceed with the greatest severity against those who attended conventicles, and headed by officers who had shown themselves qualified for carrying these instructions into execution.

“ We cannot give an account of the sufferings which the Presbyterians endured by the execution of these barbarous measures. They suffered, says an author* already quoted, extremities that tongue cannot describe, and which heart can hardly conceive of, from the dismal circumstances of hunger, nakedness and the severity of the climate;—lying in damp caves, and in hollow clefts of the naked rocks, without shelter, covering, fire or food; none durst harbour, entertain, relieve, or speak to them upon pain of death. Many, for venturing to receive them, were forced to fly to them, and several put to death for no other offence; fathers were persecuted for supplying their children, and children for nourishing their parents; husbands for harbouring their wives, and wives for cherishing their own husbands. The ties and obligations of the laws of nature were no defence, but it was made death to perform natural duties; and many suffered death for acts of piety and charity, in cases where human nature could not bear the thoughts of suffering it. To such an extreme was the rage of these persecutors carried! Nor can we give an account of the murders committed under the cloak of justice; the inhuman tortures to which the accused were subjected, to constrain them to bear witness against themselves, their relatives and their brethren; and the barbarity of sounding

* The author alluded to, we believe, is Defoe, in his “Memoirs of the Church of Scotland.”

drums on the scaffold to drown their voices, and of apprehending and punishing those who expressed sympathy for them, or who uttered the prayer, *God comfort you*. The number of prisoners was often so great, that the government could not bring them all to trial. Such of them as escaped execution were transported, or rather sold as slaves, to people desolate, barbarous colonies; the price of a whig was fixed at five pounds; and sometimes they were given away in presents by the judges.”*

All these miseries were inflicted because the ruling powers, having established Episcopacy, were determined to put down Presbytery, that the object of their idolatry might reign without a rival. Many of the curates were active agents of the persecutors, by informing against those who attended conventicles, or who refused to submit to their ministry; and he who presided over the affairs of the Episcopal church, and directed the work of carnage for many years, was the Archbishop of St. Andrews. Hence Episcopacy came to be abhorred in Scotland as much as Popery had been, and continued to be so for nearly a century after Presbytery was re-established. Episcopacy now is as harmless as any other mode of dissent; and it would be most unjust to accuse those of that communion in the present age, as consenting to the deeds of their predecessors, which they condemn as much as we. There is nothing in the nature of Episcopacy more intolerant or bloodthirsty than in that of Presbytery; but, unhappily for the good name of the former, it was considered a stepping-stone to Popery. As such, it was made use of by the house of Stuart, which led to the expulsion of both it and them.

The persecuted Presbyterians have been accused of *fanaticism, superstition, illiberality, and want of learning*. Their guilt or innocence, with respect to some of these things, will depend upon a definition of the terms. In the cant language of those who despise all serious religion, every man is a “fanatic” who studies to please God rather than conform to the corrupt manners of the world. In this respect, the Worthies, whose

* See *Review of the first series of the Tales of My Landlord*, ascribed to Dr. M'Crie, published from the Christian Instructor, in a separate volume, entitled “A Vindication of the Covenanters.” See pp. 31—33.

lives are recorded in this volume, were great fanatics. They chose to be vile in the sight of men, that they might be approved of God. They were men of true piety. They lived much in communion with God, and with one another, as they had opportunity. They remembered the Sabbath day to keep it holy. They would not join with their neighbours in any kind of revelry on that day, or indeed on any other day; but endeavoured to keep themselves unspotted from the world. This, of course, provoked the hostility of their profane neighbours, who thought it strange that they would not run with them to the same excess of riot; and they took their revenge by giving them a bad name. They called them fanatics. I would feel more pleasure in being associated with them under that name, than anxiety about vindicating them from the odium attached to it.

But they were, it is said, "superstitious." I suppose there are many who use this word who do not know what it signifies. Johnson defines superstition, "unnecessary fear or scruples in religion; religion without morality; reverence of beings not proper objects of reverence; over-nicety; exactness too scrupulous." Of superstition as "unnecessary fear or scruples in religion," they were guilty or not guilty, according to the meaning attached to the words. They stood in great fear of offending God. Hence they would not swear, or consent to the breach of any of his commandments. They would not utter a word, or do a deed, that might even seem to approve of what was sinful, though it were to save their lives. In the esteem of the world such fears and scruples were unnecessary. It was an over-nicety; it was exactness too scrupulous. In this sense they were superstitious; which is saying no more than that, like holy Job, they were men that feared God and eschewed evil. If superstition be "religion without morality," they were not guilty; for their strict morality was one reason why they were called superstitious. And if superstition be "reverence for beings not proper objects of reverence," they were not guilty. This did not apply to them, but to their enemies the Papists.

"Illiberal" is a word not yet properly defined. Dr. Johnson, on the authority of King Charles, explains it, "not noble; not ingenuous." Then the covenanters were not illiberal, for

among them were some of the most noble of the land. Witness the two Argyles, who sealed their testimony with their blood. On other authority, Johnson defines it, "not munificent; not generous; sparing." The history of the Scots Presbyterians is full of the most noble acts of munificence and generosity. They were not sparing even of their lives, when called to put them in jeopardy in the service of God, or for the benefit of fellow-creatures. Witness the conduct of the two noble ladies in London Castle, who, at the risk of their own lives, carried food in the skirts of their cloaks to a persecuted boy, in a place of concealment, as related by himself in a manuscript which I have quoted.* But I know, what is now meant by illiberality, better than Dr. Johnson did. The covenanters were not blind to the difference between truth and error. They would not call evil good and good evil. What they believed to be truth they held fast at all hazards; and what they believed to be error they denounced as such, whoever might be offended by it. There was nothing more abhorred and condemned by them, than the sentiment, that one religion, and one form of worship, was as good as another. This is the boasted liberality of many in the present age; and in this sense, most certainly, the Worthies were not liberal. But, it is added, their principles were intolerant. To a certain extent this is freely admitted. They did not understand the subject of religious liberty; and with the exception of Locke, Owen, and one or two more, no man of that age understood it. Their attainments were great in many respects; but in this they were deficient. It is right to acknowledge the fact at once; and if those who now blame them for it, can conjure up any cotemporary sect or party who were blameless, let that sect or party throw the first stone at the covenanters.

As for "learning," I think they had a fair proportion of it. Few men of his time were more learned than Andrew Melville; or than Rutherford and Henderson at a later period. When learning could not be obtained at home, many went to Holland for it, at a vast expense to them and their friends. Nay, I think, they laid too much stress upon the learning of

* See note, page 478—9.

the schools, for they made it indispensable as a qualification for preaching the gospel. I do not recollect an instance of one being ordained, or even licensed to preach, who had not gone through a course of Greek and Roman learning. I am far from depreciating the advantages of this in ordinary circumstances; but in those of the persecuted Presbyterians, at the time referred to, much profit and comfort might have been imparted, by the ministry of plain unlettered Christians of ardent piety and sound common sense, in remote parts of the country, when no learned minister was at hand. Some of the most useful ministers of the present age, both as writers and preachers, such as John Newton, Thomas Scott, and Andrew Fuller, were men of no great learning, or of no College learning at all. And when I read the dying testimonies of some of the Worthies, such as Nisbet of Hardhill, and other laymen, I am sure they must have been qualified both to instruct and edify their suffering brethren, and preach the gospel to sinners; and they might have been set apart by prayer and fasting for that purpose; but nothing of the kind seems ever to have been thought of by them. Indeed, such was their attachment to learning, and a learned ministry, that it was thought profanation for any one, without such qualification, publicly to preach the word, or to lead the worship of a congregation. In this, I think, they erred; but it is an error quite inconsistent with their being inattentive to learning.

The following work was originally compiled by John Howie, who lived at Lechgoon, in the parish of Fenwick, Ayrshire. He was a plain unlettered peasant. His ancestors had occupied the same farm for ages; and some of them suffered much in the persecuting period, particularly his great-grandfather, whose house was robbed and plundered twelve times; but he always escaped with his life, and died in peace, three years after the Revolution. John, the Author of this work, died in 1793, aged fifty-seven. He belonged to the religious body, named, at one time, Cameronians, after Richard Cameron, afterwards M'Millanites, after John M'Millan, one of their most distinguished ministers since the Revolution; but the name by which they choose to be designated is, "The Reformed Presbytery." I thought, at one time, to have given a

short account of John Howie's life ; but I have been informed by a nephew of his, that his family possess ample materials for a volume, to which I could not possibly do justice in a short preface ; and, therefore, I leave the subject untouched ; hoping, that ere long, some member of the ancient Lochgoin family will favour the world with what cannot fail to be interesting.

The present edition appears in a new dress, more suitable to the present taste, without, I hope, disguising the original. It has been thought proper to leave out a few lives of persons who survived the Revolution, and conclude the work with James Renwick, who was the last of the Scots martyrs ; and to omit the Appendix, containing " God's judgments upon persecutors." But in lieu of these a good deal of new matter has been added, containing lives of distinguished persons, witnesses for the truth, not in the original work. But I have no hand in these things. For all the improvements in the text, and all the additions to it, the reader is indebted to the reverend Editor, who has spent no little pains upon the work. I have appended a note here and there, sometimes explanatory, and sometimes corrective, of what appeared to me to require the one or the other, without however affecting the principles of the Worthies, with regard to church government, the covenants, and some matters of controversy among themselves, with which I do not choose to intermeddle. My object is not to defend all that they said and did ; but to recommend their example, upon the whole, as men of sound religious principles, strict integrity, and true patriotism, to whom, as instruments under God, we are indebted for our civil and religious privileges. With regard to the opinions which I have expressed, I am, of course, as liable to error as the Worthies and their biographer ; and all I wish is, that readers will judge for themselves, bring every thing to the test of the divine record, and let them reject what they find not according to that standard, whether it be theirs or mine.

W. M'GAVIN.

ORIGINAL PREFACE.

THE Design of the following work is to collect from the best authorities, a summary account of the lives, characters and contendings of our most RENOWNED SCOTS WORTHIES, who, for their faithful services, ardent zeal, constancy in suffering and other Christian graces and virtues, deserve a most honourable memorial in the church of Christ; and whose names both have been, and will be, savoury to all the true lovers of our Zion, while Reformation principles are regarded in Scotland.

But, perhaps, some may be surprised, to find one so obscure, appearing in a work of this nature, especially when there are so many, more fit for such an employment. And if the respect I have for the memories of these worthies, the familiar acquaintance and sweet fellowship which once subsisted between some of them, and some of my ancestors, and above all the love and regard which I have for the cause which they owned and maintained, be not sufficient to apologize for me in this, then I must crave to be heard in a few particulars; and that both anent the reasons for this publication, and its utility.

And *First*, Having for some time had a desire to see something of this kind published, but finding nothing yet in print except a few broken accounts interspersed throughout different publications, I at last took up the resolution to publish a second edition of the life of one of these worthies already published at large.* But upon farther reflection, I considered that to collect into one volume, the most material relations with respect to as many of them as could be obtained from such historical records, biographical accounts, and other authenticated manuscripts, as I could have access to, together with the substance of the lives already in print, would not only prove more useful as giving the reader a view all at once, of that which before was scattered up and down in so many quarters, but also as

* Mr. Renwick's life written by Mr. Shields, and first published anno 1724.

freeing it of the many inconveniences to which small pamphlets are liable. And yet at the same time, I am aware, that some may expect a more full account of these worthies, both as to their number and the matters of fact relating to them, than what is here to be met with. But in this publication, it is not pretended to give an account either of all our Scots worthies, or all their transactions; for that were a task now altogether impracticable, for the following reasons:

1. There have been many, of different ranks and degrees of men, famous in the church of Scotland, of whom little more is mentioned in history than their names, their place of abode, and the age wherein they existed. Again, there are many others, of whom the most that can be stated is only a few hints, which of necessity must render their lives (if they may be so called) very imperfect, from what they might have been, had they been written a century ago, when their actions and memories were fresh and recent, when persons were alive, well acquainted with them, and when they might have been confirmed by many incontestable evidences that cannot now be adverted to; especially as there is a chasm in our history during the time of the usurper, not to mention how many of our national records were during that time altogether lost.*

2. There are others, both in the reforming and suffering periods, of whom somewhat is now recorded, and yet not enough to form a narrative, so that excepting by short relations or marginal notes, their lives cannot be supplied. For it is with regret, the publishers have it to declare, that upon application to several places for farther information concerning these men, they could find little or nothing in the most part of them, excepting a few things by way of oral tradition, the registers being through course of time lost either designedly or through negligence.

3. Some few of the lives already in print being somewhat prolix, it was found necessary to abridge them, but this is done in a manner as comprehensive as possible, so as to omit nothing material, and to be no way injurious to the memory of these worthy men.

Secondly, As to the utility of this undertaking, biography in general, as a historian has observed,† is one of the most

* Of these records belonging to the state, carried away by Cromwel to secure our dependence on England, there were 85 hogsheads lost Dec. 18th, 1660, in a ship belonging to Kirkcaldy, as she was returning with them from London. And as for the church records and registers, a great many of them also (either through the confusion of the then civil wars, or falling into the hands of the prelates while prelacy prevailed in Scotland) are also amissing. Preface to STEVENSON'S HISTORY,

† Mr. Wodrow in the preface to his history.

entertaining parts of history; and how much more the lives and transactions of our noble Scots Worthies, in which is contained not only a short detail of the church's wrestlings for nearly two hundred years, indeed from the earliest period of Christianity in Scotland, but also a great variety of other matters, both instructive and entertaining, calculated at once to edify and refresh the serious and understanding reader. For,

1. In these lives we have a short view of the actions, excellencies and failings of our ancestors, as examples both for caution and imitation; and by the experience, and at the expense of former ages, we may thus learn most important lessons for our conduct in life, and for furnishing ourselves with the like Christian armour of faith, zeal, holiness, steadfastness, meekness, patience, humility, and other graces.

2. In them we behold what the wisest of men could not think on without astonishment, that "God does in very deed dwell with men upon earth, displaying his divine power, and the efficacy of his grace through their infirmities, subduing the most hardened sinners to himself, while he, as it were, resigns himself to their prayers, and makes them the subject of his divine care and superintendency."

3. Here we have, as it were in a mirror, set forth, all the virtues and duties of a religious life. Here is the example of a virtuous nobleman, an active statesman, a religious gentleman, a faithful minister "instant in season and out of season," a wise and diligent magistrate, "one fearing God and hating covetousness," a courageous soldier, a good Christian, a loving husband, an indulgent parent, a true friend; and in a word, almost every character worthy of our imitation. And,

4. In them we have the various changes and varieties of soul-exercise, the experiences, savoury expressions and last words of those, who were once living, and are now glorified witnesses of Christ. "And if the last speeches of any men are remarkable, how much more so must be the last words and dying expressions of these noble witnesses and martyrs of Christ." The nearer the dying saint is to heaven, and the more of the presence of Christ he has in his last moments, the more interesting must his conversation be to survivors, and the more acceptable to real Christians, for then all that he says is supported by example, which is always of considerable influence upon the human mind. It is true there is an innate evil in man's nature, which makes him more prone to follow bad than good examples; yet sometimes there is a kind of compulsive energy arising from the examples of such as are eminent either in place or godliness, which powerfully influ-

ences others, to imitate them in their graces and virtues. We find that the children of Israel followed the Lord during all the days of Joshua, and of the elders that outlived him; and Christ's harbinger, John the Baptist, gained as much by his example as by his teaching. His apparel, his diet, his conversation, did all bespeak his holiness. Nazianzen saith of him, "That he cried louder by the holiness of his life, than by the sincerity of his doctrine." And were it not so, the apostles would not have exhorted thus: "Brethren, be followers together of me, and mark them which walk, so as ye have us for an ensample;"* "Take, my brethren, the prophets, who have spoken in the name of the Lord, for an example."† There is no question, indeed, that next to the down-pouring of the Spirit from on high, the wonderfully rapid success of the gospel, both in the primitive times, and in the beginning of our Reformation, in a great measure must have been owing to the simple, holy, and exemplary lives of its preachers and professors. A learned expositor observes, "That ministers are likely to preach most to the purpose, when they can press their hearers to follow their example."‡ And without this, the church of Christ is so far from gaining ground, that it loses what it already hath gained, in the world; of which the church of Scotland is a most glaring proof. Yea truth itself suffers by their means, and can gain no credit from the mouths of men whose character is despicable, whose authority is lost, and whose example goes for nothing. So that, I flatter myself, no small advantage, through the divine blessing, may accrue to the public, from this subject in general, and from the lives of our Scots worthies in particular, providing these or the like cautions following be observed. 1. That we are not to sit down or rest ourselves upon the person, principle or practice of any man, yea the best saint we have ever read or heard of, but only to seek those gifts and graces, that most eminently shone forth in him. *Preceptis non exemplis standum*, i. e. "we must not stand by examples but precepts." For it is the peculiar honour of Jesus Christ himself, to be worthy of being imitated by all men absolutely, and for us to idolize any man by making him a pattern in every particular, were nothing else than to pin our faith upon his sleeve. The apostle to the Corinthians gives a very good caveat against this, when he says, "Be ye followers (or as the Dutch annotators translate it, Be ye imitators) of me, as I am of Christ." 2. That we are not, on the other hand, to dwell too much upon the faults, or

* Phil. iii. 17.

† James v. 10.

‡ Mr. Henry on 1 Cor. xi. 1.

failings that have sometimes been discovered in some of God's dear children; but at the same time to consider, that although they were eminent men of God, they were also the sons of Adam. For it is possible, even for good men not only to fall themselves, but also when striking against the errors and enormities of others to overreach the mark, and go beyond the bounds of propriety; for says the apostle, "They are earthen vessels, men of like passions with you.*"

Thirdly, As to the motives prompting to this publication. Was there ever an age, since reformation commenced in Scotland, that stood in more need of useful, holy, and exemplary lives being set before it; both with respect to the memoirs themselves, and with regard to our present circumstances? For with respect to the memoirs of these WORTHIES, it is now long since Bishops Spotswood, Gutherie, and Burnet, not to mention some English historians, in their writings, clothed the actions of these our ancestors, both in the Reformation and Suffering Period, in a most grotesque and foolish dress, whereby their names have been loaded with reproach, sarcasm, and scurrility; but as if this had not been enough to expose them, by rendering them, and their most faithful contendings, odious, some modern writers, under the character of monthly reviewers,† have set again to the work of misrepresenting them, by giving them a character such as even the above-mentioned historians, yea, their most avowed enemies, in their own day, would scarcely have subscribed;‡ to such a length is poor Scotland arrived! And, is it not high time to follow the wise man's advice, "Open thy mouth for the dumb, in the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction?"§

Again, with regard to our present circumstances there needs little more to prove the necessity of this collection, than to show how many degrees we have descended from the merit of our renowned forefathers, by running a parallel betwixt their attainments and our present defections, in the following particulars.

Our venerable reformers were not only instrumental in the Lord's hand in bringing a people out of gross popish darkness, under which they had for long continued, but they also brought themselves under most solemn and sacred engagements to the Most High, and whenever they intended any

* 2 Cor. iv. 7. Acts xiv. 15.

† It would almost seem that the worthy compiler of this work here spoke by anticipation. His words may undoubtedly be applied in all their meaning to our own day. EDIT.

‡ For confirmation of this, see the Edinburgh Monthly Review for February 1774.

§ Prov. xxxi. 8.

further reformation in their advancing state, they always set about the renovation of these. They strenuously asserted the divine right of Presbytery, the headship of Christ, the intrinsic rights of his church, and in the reign of James VI. suffered much on that account. They lifted arms once and again in the reign of Charles I.; and never ceased till they got an uniformity in doctrine, worship, church-government, and discipline established in the three kingdoms;* and thereby both church and state were enabled to exert themselves in rooting out every error and heresy whatever, until they obtained a complete settlement according to the Word of God, and our covenants established thereon. These covenants were then, by several excellent acts, both civil and ecclesiastic,† made the Magna Charta of these nations, with respect to every civil and religious privilege; none being admitted into any office or employment in church or state without scriptural and covenant qualifications. And then was that part of the ancient prophecy fulfilled, "In the wilderness shall waters break forth, and streams in the desert—and the isles shall wait for his law." Christ then reigned triumphantly in Scotland. His church appeared "beautiful as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem: For from the utmost parts were heard songs, even glory to the righteous."

And although Charles II. and a set of wicked counsellors overturned the whole fabric of the once-glorious structure of reformation, openly divested the Son of God of his headship in and over the church, burned the solemn covenant by the hands of the hangman, and made it high treason to own them;‡ yet even then, the seed of the church produced a remnant who kept the word of Christ in patience, stood in defence of his persecuted truths, and that to the effusion of their last drop of blood: "Christ's headship and our covenants, being in the mouths of our late martyrs, when they mounted the bloody theatres." In the comfort of suffering on such clear grounds, and for such valuable truths, they went triumphing into eternity.

But alas! how have we, their degenerate posterity, copied their example or traced their steps! We have rather served ourselves heirs to those who persecuted and killed them, by

* See the Parliamentary Chronicle, or God on the Mount.

† See Act v. Parl. 1610. Act v. 1644. Act xv. 1649.; Acts of the General Assembly, sess. 26. 1638. sess. 23. 1639. sess. 6. 1642. sess. ult. 1647. sess. 31. 1615. &c.

‡ Act v. sess. 1. Parl. 1. James VII. See James VII. and William and Mary's Acts of Parliamen. abridged, page 42.

our long accession to their perjury and apostasy, in a general and avowed denial of our most solemn vows of allegiance to Jesus Christ. To mention nothing more of the total extermination of our ancient and laudable constitution, during the reigns of the two tyrants, with the many grave-stones cast thereon by the acts rescissory, and claim of right at the Revolution, whereby we have, in a national capacity, declared ourselves to be on another footing than the footing of the once famous covenanted church of Scotland; how many are the defections and encroachments, annually and daily made upon our most valuable privileges! For since the Revolution, the duty of national covenanting has not only been slighted and neglected, yea ridiculed by some; but some, even in their writings,* have had the effrontery to impugn the very obligation of these covenants, asserting that there is no warrant for national covenanting under the New Testament dispensation. And what awful attacks since that time have been made upon the rights of our Redeemer! as witness the civil magistrate's still calling and dissolving the supreme judicatories of the church, yea sometimes to an indefinite time; likewise appointing diets of fasting and thanksgiving to be observed, under fines and other civil pains, and imposing oaths, acts, and statutes upon churchmen, under pain of ecclesiastic censure, and other Erastian penalties. Instead of our covenants, an unhallowed union is gone into with England, whereby our rights and privileges are infringed not a little, lordly patronage is also restored and practised, a toleration† bill is granted,

* Such as Messrs. Currie, Ferguson, and Smith of Newburn, &c. who, in order to palliate and extenuate the evil of the present backsliding courses, seem to have left no stone unturned to expose or blacken the reforming period.

† Although toleration principles be now espoused, boasted of, and gloried in by many, yea by some from whom other things might be expected, yet are they contrary to scripture. See Gen. xxv. 2. &c. Dent. xiii. 6. Judg. ii. 2. Ezek. xliii. 8. Prov. xvii. 15. Zech. xiii. 2. Rom. xiii. 3. Rev. ii. 14. &c. How far the civil magistrate is to exert his power in punishing heretics, I shall not at present determine, or whether the word *extirpate* in our solemn league and covenant extends to the temporal or spiritual sword only, there are different sentiments and expositions; yet sure I am that according to the very nature of things, that which is morally good (being a commanded duty) needs no toleration; and that which is morally evil, no mortal on earth can lawfully grant an immunity unto: and betwixt these there is no medium in point of truth and duty. It is observable, that where toleration or toleration principles prevail, real religion never prospers much; and besides all, it is of woeful consequence, for as in natural bodies, antipathies of qualities cause destruction, so in bodies politic different religions, or ways of worship in religion, cause many divisions and distractions, whereby the seamless coat of Christ is like to be torn in pieces, and this oftentimes terminates in the ruin of the whole. "For a kingdom, city or house, divided against itself," says Christ, "cannot stand." And yet some will say, that toleration is a good thing, for by it people may live as good as they please. I answer, it is true, but they may also live

whereby almost every error, heresy, and delusion appears triumphant, prelacy is become fashionable, and of popery we are in as much danger as ever. Socinian and Deistical tenets are only in vogue with the wits of the age; *soli rationi cedo*, the old Porphyrian maxim, having so far gained the ascendant at present, that reason (at least pretenders to it who must needs hear with their eyes, and see with their ears, and understand with their elbows, till the order of things be inverted) threatens not a little to banish revealed religion and its most important doctrines out of the world. A latitudinarian scheme prevails among the majority, the greater part, with the Athenians, spending their time only to hear and see something new, “gadding about to change their ways, going in the ways of Egypt and Assyria, to drink the waters of Shichor and the river,”—unstable souls, like so many light combustibles wrapt up by the eddies of a whirlwind and tossed hither and thither till utterly dissipated. The doctrine of original sin* is by some denied, others are pulling down the very hedges of church-government, and refusing all church-standards, “covenants, creeds, and confessions, whether of our own or of other churches, as being all of them carnal, human, or antichristian inventions;” and the old Pelagian and Arminian errors appear again upon the stage, the merit of the creature, free will and good works† being taught from press and pulpit

as bad as they please, and that we have liberty and freedom to serve God in his own appointed way we have him primarily to thank for it, as for all his other mercies and goodness toward us.

* This doctrine of original sin is plainly evinced by scripture, Job. xiv. 4. Psalm li. 5. Rom. v. 12. &c. 1 Cor. xv. 21. John. iii. 6. asserted in our church standards, illustrated and defended by many able divines, and by our British poets excellently described: thus,

Adam, now ope thine eyes, and first behold
Th' effects which thy original crime hath wrought.
In some to spring from thee, who never touch'd
Th' excepted tree, nor with the snake conspir'd,
Nor sinn'd thy sin; yet from that sin derive
Corruption to bring forth more violent deeds.

PARADISE LOST, lib. ix. line 122.

Conceived in sin (O wretched state!)

Before we draw our breath:

The first young pulse begins to beat

Iniquity and death.

DR. WATTS.

† However much these leading articles of the Arminian and Pelagian scheme be now taught and applauded, yet sure they are God-dishonouring and soul-ruining tenets, inconsistent with scripture, with God's covenant, and with man's salvation. For,

1. They are contrary to scripture, which teaches us that we are no less dependant in working than in being, and no less capable to act from a principle of life, than to exist; “the way of man is not in himself, neither is it in man that walketh to direct his steps. What hast thou, O man, but what thou hast received! How to perform that which is good I find not,” (Jer. x. 23. 1 Cor. iv

almost every where, to the utter discarding of free grace, of Christ's imputed righteousness, and of true godliness. All these pernicious errors were expunged, by our reforming forefathers: and is it not highly requisite that their faithful con-

Rom. vii. 18.) "A man can do nothing except it be given him from above; and no man can come unto me except the Father draw him," (John iii. 27. vi. 41.) See also the Conf. chap. ix. § 3. Article of the church of England, 10. And for good works, however far they may be acceptable to God in an approbative way, as being conform to his command, and agreeable to the holiness of his nature, yet we are assured from his word that moral rectitude in its very summit, can never render one acceptable in his sight, in a justifying way, "for by the works of the law shall no man be justified: not by works of righteousness that we have done," &c. (Rom. iii. 28. Gal. ii. 16. Tit. iii. 5.) For though good works, or gospel obedience, and true holiness be absolutely necessary unto salvation (as being the fruits and evidences of a true and lively faith in every believer), the greatest saint being the best moralist, yet these are no ways meritorious of man's salvation; no, this depends upon God's eternal purposes, (Rom. ix. 11. Eph. i. 4.) We find it often said in scripture, that it shall be rendered to every man according to his works, (Rom. iii. 6. Rev. xxii. 12,) but never for their works; yea works, (though otherwise materially good in themselves) in an unregenerate man, become sinful before God, "for whatsoever is not of faith is sin," (Rom. xiv. 23.) although the omitting of them be more dishonouring to him, (Rom. viii. 8. Psalm xxxvi. 5. Matth. xxiii. 23.) Conf. chap. xvi. § 2, 3, 6. And so Luther, Calvin, Diodati, Beza, Perkins, Fisher, Flavel, Owen, Simson, Binning, Dickson, Gray, Rutherford, Durham, Gillespie, Guthrie, Renwick, Pool, Henry, Halyburton, Boston, Marshal and many others.

2. They are antipodes to reason, and strike eminently, against the very nature of God's covenant, for according to the tenor of the covenant of works, nothing but perfect, personal and perpetual obedience, (if any thing in a degenerate creature may be so called) can merit; and can any reasonable man look his own conscience in the face and say, that he is the person that can perform this? Again, if we betake ourselves unto the covenant of grace, reason itself might blush and be ashamed, once to suppose, that the blood of the immaculate Son of God, stood in any need of an addition of man's imperfect works, in order to complete salvation. See Catechizing on the Heidelberg catechism on question lii. page 180. Blackwall's *Ratio Sacra*, page 17, &c.

3. They must be very dangerous, soul-ruining, and Christ-dishonouring errors; for, it might be counted altogether superfluous for a person to come to a physician for a cure, while he is not in the least suspicious of being infected with any malady: so in like manner, can it be expected that any soul will cordially come (or be brought) to Christ, without a due sense of its infinite distance from God by nature, of the impossibility of making any suitable approaches to him, and of its utter disability to do any thing that may answer the law, holiness and righteousness of God therein? "For they that be whole (at least think themselves so) need not a physician," saith Christ; "I came not to call the righteous (or such as think themselves so) but sinners to repentance." (Mark ix. 12.)

From hence observe, that whosoever intends to forsake his sin, in order to come to Christ, or effectually to correct vice, before he believes on him, must needs meet with a miserable disappointment, ("for without faith it is impossible to please God," Heb. xi. 6.) and in the end sink himself into an immense and bottomless chaos of uncertainties, like one lopping off the branches of a tree, to kill the root. "No man cometh to the Father but by me, and without me ye can do nothing," says Christ himself, (John xiv. 6. xv. 5;) the love of God being the *prima causa*, the obedience and meritorious righteousness of Christ the foundation, source and spring of man's salvation and all true happiness, "for by grace ye are saved," (Eph. ii. 8.) Whosoever has been made rightly to know any thing of the depravity of his nature

tendings, and exemplary lives, should be copied out before us, when so averse to "acknowledging the God of our fathers, and to walking before him with a perfect heart?"

Again, if we run a comparison, betwixt the practice of those

in a lapsed state, or experienced any thing of the free grace of God in Christ, will be made to acknowledge this, "that it is God that worketh in us both to will and to do of his good pleasure," Phil. ii. 13. And yet I know it is objected, that it is highly dishonouring to the Author of nature, to argue man, to be such a mean and insufficient creature, and that it can never be supposed that a gracious and merciful God would make such a number of intelligent beings to damn them, or command a sinner to repent, and come to Christ, and condemn him for not doing it, if it were not in his own power upon moral suasion to obey. It is true indeed, that in comparison to the irrational, insect and inanimate creation, man is a noble creature, both as to his formation, "I am wonderfully made," (Psal. cxxxix. 14.) and also in his intellectual parts, but much more in his primeval state and dignity, when all the faculties of the mind and powers of the soul stood entire, being then endued not only with animal, and intelligent, but also with heavenly life, "thou hast made him a little lower than the angels," (Psal. viii. 5.) But then, in what follows, these objectors seem, either inadvertently, or willingly, to have forgot, 1. "That man in honour abideth not," Psalm xlix. 12. or, (as the Rabbins read, and some translate it, as Cartwright, Ainsworth, Leigh and Broughton) "Adam in honour abideth not one night." Adam, by his disobedience, not only introduced a jar into the whole creation, rendered his posterity decrepit and lame, but also lost all power, to any spiritual good; the whole of his intellectual parts concentered with him being either corrupted, darkened, obliterated, or lost. Indeed, Dr. Taylor would have us believe, that what Adam lost, and more, was restored to Noah, (Gen. ix.) and that man's mental capacities are now the same as Adam's in innocence, saving so far, as God sees fit, to set any man above, or below his standard; some are below Adam in rational endowments, and some are above him; of the latter he thinks Sir Isaac Newton was one. (Doctrine of Original Sin, page 235. Supplement, page 85.) The fallacy of which is so obvious and absurd that it deserves no observation, for every man to his dear bought experience may know, that man now assisted by all the dark remains of original, natural, moral and political knowledge he is master of, can acquire no certain knowledge of any part of his duty, as to moral good or evil, but by a gradation of labour, slow and multiplied deductions, and much less is he able, to bind the strong man and cast him out. And yet, all this is no way dishonouring to the great Author of nature, as to the works of his hands, for although he made man at first, he made him not originally a sinful man, so that it is our sin that is dishonouring to him; "Lo! this have I found out (says the wisest of men) that God at first made man upright, but he sought out many inventions." 2. That in a proper sense God neither made man to save nor to damn him, but only for his pleasure, and the manifestation of his own power and glory. (Rev. iv. 11. Conf. chap. ii. § 3.) 3. Although we have lost power to obey, yet he still retains his right to demand obedience, and nothing can be more suitable to the justice, wisdom, and sovereignty of God, than to maintain his right, to perfect obedience from man, whom he originally endued with all power and abilities for what he commanded; neither is he any wise bound, to restore that power again, to man, which he by his disobedience lost. 4. All mankind by the fall stand condemned, by God's judicial act, "in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." (Gen. ii. 17.) And you'll say, a judge does a malefactor no injury in condemning him, when by the law he is found guilty of death, "and cursed is every one who confirmeth not all the words of this law to do them," (Deut. xxvii. 26.) and much less the supreme Judge of all, who can do nothing wrong to any, in condemning man, "for the wages of sin is death," (Rom. vi. 23.) and "hath not the potter power over the clay?" And finally, if the first Adam's posterity be thus naturally endued with a power, to do what is spiritually good, it may

who are the subject matter of this collection, and our present prevailing temper and disposition, we shall find how little they correspond, with one another. How zealous and courageous were *they* for the cause and honour of Christ ! How cold and lukewarm are *we*, of whatever sect or denomination ! How willing were *they*, to part with all for him ! And what an honour did many of them account it, to suffer for his name ! How unwilling are *we*, to part with any thing for him, much less to suffer such hardships for his sake ! Of that, *we* are ashamed, which *they* regarded as their ornament ; accounting that our glory, which they looked on as a disgrace ! How easy was it for *them* to choose the greatest suffering rather than the least sin ! How hard is it for *us* to refuse the greatest sin, before the least suffering ! How active were *they* for the glory of God and the good of souls, and how diligent to have their own evidences clear, for heaven ! But how little concern have *we*, for the cause of Christ, his work, and interest, and how dark, for the most part, with respect to our spiritual state and duty !—They were sympathizing Christians ; but alas ! how little fellow-feeling is to be found among us ;—it is rather “ Stand by, for I am holier than thou.” Oh ! that their Christian virtues, constant fidelity, unfeigned love, and unbiassed loyalty to Zion’s King and Lord, could awaken us, from our supine neutrality ; wherein, instead of imitating their goodness and virtuous dispositions, we have, by our defections and vicious courses, invited neglect and contempt on ourselves, being, as a philosopher once observed of passionate people, like men standing on their heads, who see all things the wrong way ; giving up with the greater part of the rights and liberties, which were esteemed most valuable by our renowned progenitors. “ The treacherous dealers have dealt very treacherously.”

And if we add to all these, in our progressive and increasing

be asked, pray what need was there for the second Adam to die to quicken his elect ? (1. pt. l. 1.) Indeed we are commanded to repent and turn from our iniquities, “ turn ye, turn ye and live,” (Ezek. xxxiii. 11.) and “ ye will not come unto me that ye might have life.” (John v. 40.) But who excepting a bold Arminian will say, that these texts imply a natural power in man to turn, and to come or not as he pleases ? If this were the case, the same Spirit of God would not have said elsewhere, “ draw us and we will run after thee, turn thou us, and we shall be turned,” (Cant. i. 4. Jer. xxxi. 18.) ; “ surely after I was turned I repented,” (ver. 19.) It was not *before* I was turned I repented ; no, this command and complaint only points out our duty, but the prayers and promises in the word show us our ability for the performance thereof. And yet after all, proud ignorant man must needs be his own saviour, and if God say not so too, Cain will be wroth and his countenance fall. (Gen. iv. 5.) “ Let the potsherds strive with the potsherds of the earth ; but we unto him that striveth with his Maker.”

apostasy, the other heinous land-crying sins which prevail and increase among all ranks of men (few mourning over the low state of our Zion, and the daily decay of the interest, of Christ and religion)—then, we may not only say as the poet once said of the men of Athens and Thebes,* “That we live only in fable, and nothing remains of ancient Scotland but the name;” but may also take up this bitter complaint and lamentation—“Ah, Scotland, Scotland! ‘How is the gold become dim, how is the most fine gold changed!’ Ah! where is the God of Elijah, and where is His glory! Where is that Scottish zeal which once flamed in the breasts of thy nobility, barons, ministers, and commoners of all sorts! Ah, where is that true courage and heroic resolution for religion and the liberties of the nation, that did once animate all ranks in the land! Alas, alas! true Scots blood now runs cool in our veins! The cloud is now gone up, in a great measure, from off our assemblies, because we have deserted and relinquished the Lord’s most noble cause and testimony, by a plain, palpable, and continued course of backsliding.” “The crown is fallen from our head, wo is unto us, for we have sinned.”

And surely we may say of these our times (and with as much propriety) what some of the Worthies said of theirs,—“How grievously,” said one,† “would *they* bewail our great slothfulness, could they but behold it, who of old thought no expense of blood and treasure too much, for the defence of the church of Scotland’s liberties.” Or to use the words of another‡ in the persecuting period, “Were it possible that our reformers (and we may add our late martyrs) who are entered in among the glorious choristers, in the kingdom of heaven, singing their melodious songs, on harps, about the throne of the Lamb, might have a furlough for a short time, to take a view of their apostatizing children, what may we judge would be their conceptions of these courses of defection, so utterly repugnant to the platform laid down to them in that glorious work of reformation.” For if the innocent Hamilton, the godly Wishart, the apostolic Knox, the eloquent Rollock, the worthy Davidson, the courageous Melvills, the prophetic Welch, the majestic Bruce, the dignified Henderson, the renowned Gillespie, the learned Binning, the pious Gray, the laborious Durham, the heavenly-minded Rutherford, the faithful Guthries, the diligent Blair, the heart-melting Living-

* *Œdipodionæ, quid sunt nisi fabula Thebæ?*

Quid Pandionæ restant, nisi nomen Athenæ?

† Mr. David Dickson in a letter to the General Assembly, 1601.

‡ Mr. John Dickson in a letter while prisoner in the Bass.

stone, the religious Wellwood, the orthodox Brown, the zealous Cameron, the honest-hearted Cargil, the sympathizing M'Ward, the prayer-ful Peden, and the steadfast Renwick, were filed off from the assembly of the first-born, and sent "as Commissioners down from the mount of God, to behold how quickly their offspring are gone out of the way, piping and dancing after a golden calf: Ah! with what vehemency would their spirits be affected, to see their laborious structure almost razed to the foundation, by those to whom they committed the custody of the word: they in the mean time sheltering themselves under the shadow of rotten fig-leaf distinctions, which will not scence against the wrath of an angry God in the cool of the day."

And finally, what can have a more gloomy aspect, in the midst of these evils, "when our pleasant things are laid waste," than to see such a continued series of strife and division carried on, and maintained among Christ's professing witnesses in these lands, whereby true sympathy is eradicated, the very vitals of religion pulled out, and the ways of God and godliness hampered and ridiculed,—“Jacob given to the curse, and Israel to the reproaches?” And it is most lamentable that while malignant, from without, are cutting down the carved work of the sanctuary, Christ's professed friends and followers from within, are busied in contention and animosities among themselves, by which means the enemy still advances and gains ground, similar to the case of the once famous and flourishing city and temple of Jerusalem, when it was utterly demolished by Titus Vespasian.* All which seem to indicate, that the Lord is about to inflict his long-threatened, impending, but protracted judgments† upon a sinning land, church and people. And, as many of these Worthies have assured us that judgments are abiding this church and Nation, so our present condition and circumstances seem to say, that our generation is ripening for them, apace. How much need have we then of that Christian armour, that made them proof against Satan and his emissaries, in every trial and tribulation to which they

* See Josephus de Bello Jud. lib. v. and vi.; and of this destruction Eusebius lib. iii. cap. 6; and the life of Titus Vespasian.

† Well may we tremble now! what manners reign?

But wherefore ask we, when a true reply

Would shock too much? Kind heaven avert events,

Whose fatal nature might reply too plain!

— Vengeance delayed but gathers and ferments.

More formidably blackens in the wind,

Brews deeper draughts of unrelenting wrath,

And higher charges the suspending storm. YOUNG'S NIGHT THOUGHTS.

were subjected! "Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day."

But, by this time, something might have been said concerning the testimony of the church of Scotland, as it has been handed down to posterity by these witnesses of Christ. But as this has been somewhat controverted in these times, it were too large a subject to enter upon at present, any further than to observe,

1. That the testimony of the church of Scotland is not only a free, full, and faithful testimony, but also sure and costly, confirmed and sealed with blood; "and that of the best of our nobles, ministers, gentry, burghesses, and commons of all sorts;" "who loved not their lives unto the death, but overcame by the word of their testimony."*

2. That although there is no truth whatever, when once controverted, but becomes the word of Christ's patience and so ought to be the word of our testimony; yet the church of Christ in this world, being liable to alteration of circumstances, I suppose no book has been, or can be, written, that will suit the case of any particular church at all periods of its history. This pre-eminency the holy Scriptures only can claim, as being a perfect rule for faith and manners, for principle and practice, in all places, ages and times.

3. That whilst the primitive witnesses had the divinity of the Son of God, and an open confession of Him, for their testimony, our reformers from popery had Antichrist to struggle with, and again in the reigns of James VI. and Charles I. Christ's Regalia† and the divine right of Presbytery, became the subject of their testimony. Then in the beginning of the reign of Charles II. our Worthies saw it their duty to hold and contend, only, for what they had already attained to. But alas, in the end of this and the subsequent tyrant's reign, they found it their duty to advance a step higher, by casting off their authority altogether, and that both on account of their usurpation of Christ's crown and dignity, and of their treachery, tyranny, and bloodshed. And yet, as all these faithful witnesses did agree, in promoting the kingdom and interest of the Messiah, in all his threefold offices, we must take their testimony to be materially the same, only under different circumstances. It may be stated thus, "The primitive martyrs sealed the pro-

* Rev. xii. 11.

† Here Christ's crown rights not only became the word of their testimony, but also the very motto of their civil and military banners, inasmuch as when that gallant Scots army lay at Dunceuir, anno 1620, each captain had his colours flying at his tent-door, whereon was this inscription in letters of gold, "CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT."

STEVENSON'S HISTORY Vol. II. p. 729.

phetic office of Christ with their blood, in opposition to pagan idolatry.—The reforming martyrs sealed His priestly office with their blood, in opposition to popish idolatry.—And, last of all, our late martyrs, have sealed His kingly office, with their blood, in opposition to regal supremacy and bold erastianism. They have indeed cemented it upon His royal head, so that to the world's end it shall never drop off again.”

But, candid reader, to detain thee no longer upon such considerations,—I have put the following sheets into thy hands, wherein if thou findest any thing amiss, either as to matter or method, let it be ascribed unto any thing else, rather than want of honesty or integrity; considering that all mankind are liable to err, and that there is more difficulty in digesting such a great mass of materials, into such a small composition, than in writing many volumes. Indeed, there is but little probability, that a thing of this nature can altogether escape or evade the censure of some carping Momus,* particularly of such as are either altogether ignorant of reformation principles, or of what the Lord hath done for covenanted Scotland. And yet were it possible to anticipate any thing arising here by way of objection, these few things following might be observed.

Some may object, That many things more useful for the present generation might have been published, than the deeds of men, who have stood so long condemned, by the laws of the nation, these being exploded by some, as unfit to be any longer on record. In answer to this, I shall merely remark, 1. That there have been hundreds of volumes published of things fabulous, fictitious and romantic, fit for little else than to amuse children; while this subject has been in a great

* Here it neither can nor need be expected, that in such a number of lives, they could be all found alike precise on points of public testimony; yet I would fain expect, that what is here recorded of them, might be somewhat equivalent to whatever blemishes they otherwise had, seeing their different sentiments are also recorded: otherwise I presume it were hard to please all parties. For Mr. Wodrow has been charged by some (and that not without some reason) that, in favour of some of his indulged *quondam* brethren, in the last volume of his history, he has not only smothered some matters of fact, relative to the more honest part of our sufferers, but even given the most faithful part of their contentings, the epithets of unwarrantable heats, heights, flights, extravagancies, extremities. (See History Vol. II. pages 133, 298, 584.) Again he and Mr. Currie (in his Essay on Separation, pages 160 and 211.) have blamed the publishers of the Cloud of Witnesses (but on very slender grounds,) for corrupting, perverting and omitting some testimonies of our late sufferers, whom they say “came not to the same length of principles with themselves, or those they had picked out for that purpose.” To avoid both rocks, all possible care has been here taken, and yet it must needs meet with its fate also, according to the various capacities, tempers and dispositions of the readers (and why not censure if blame-worthy): yet it is hoped that the honesty, labour and diligence used therein will counterpoise all other reflections or exceptions.

measure neglected. 2. That it has been the constant practice of the Lord's people in all ages to hand down and keep on record what the Lord had done, by and for their forefathers in former times. We find the Royal Psalmist, in name of the church, oftener than once at this work, (Psalms xlv. and lxxviii.) "We have heard with our ears, O God; our fathers have told us, what works thou didst in their days, in the times of old; We will not hide them from their children, showing to the generation to come the praises of the Lord." 3. That it has been the practice of all nations, to publish martial achievements of their most illustrious heroes, who have distinguished themselves in defence of their native country, for a little worldly honour, or a little temporary subsistence; and shall we be behind in publishing the lives, character, and memorable actions of those Christian champions, who have fought the battles of the Lord against His and their avowed enemies, till in imitation of their princely Master their garments were dyed with blood, and whose names shall be had in everlasting remembrance? 4. That though it must be granted, that in *foro humano*, their actions and attainments cannot now be pled upon, yet in *foro Dei*, that which was lawful from the beginning cannot afterwards be made sinful* or void; and the longer they have been buried under the ashes of neglect, the more need have they to be raised up and revived. It is usual for men to keep that well which was left them by their fathers, and for us either to oppose or industriously to conceal any part of these their contendings, were not only an addition to the contempt already thrown upon their memories, but also an injury done to posterity. "Your honourable ancestors," said one of these Worthies to a Scots nobleman,† "at the hazard of their lives, brought Christ into our hands, and it will be cruelty to posterity if ye lose Him, to them."

Again, some may be ready to object, "that many things related in this collection smell too much of enthusiasm; and that other things are beyond all credit." But these we must suppose to be either, quite ignorant of what the Lord did for our forefathers in former times, or else in a great measure destitute of the like gracious influences of the Holy Spirit, by which they were actuated and animated. For,

1. These Worthies did and suffered much for Christ and

* See collection of Acts of Parliament (said to be Andrew Stevenson's) preface to Part II.

† Mr. Rutherford, in a letter to the Earl of Cassils. See his Letters, Part I. Epist. 63.

his cause in their day and generation, and therefore in a peculiar and singular manner were honoured and beloved of Him; and although there are some things here narrated of an extraordinary nature, yet as they imply nothing contrary to reason, they do not forfeit a title to any man's belief, since they are otherwise well attested, and obviously referred to a *Cause*, whose ways and thoughts surmount the ways and thoughts of men, as far as the heaven is above the earth. The sacred history affords us a store of instances of a more transcendant nature, still; the truth of which we are as little at liberty to question, as the divinity of the book in which they are related.

2. As to the soul-exercises and devotion of these men, they are so far supported by the authority of Scripture, that there is mentioned by them, as a ground of their hope, some passage ther-of, suited and adapted to their cases and circumstances; by the faith of which they were enabled to lay claim to some particular promise, "as a lamp unto their feet, and a light unto their path;" and this neither hypocrite nor enthusiast can do; "for other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is in Christ Jesus."*

But then it may be alledged by those who have a high esteem for this subject, That nothing is here given as a commendation suitable or adequate, to the merit of these men, considering their zeal, diligence and activity, in the discharge of their duty. This indeed comes nearest the truth; for it is very common for biographers to pass eulogiums of a very high strain, in praise of those whom they affect. But in these panegyric orations, they oftentimes rather exceed than excel. And it was an ancient but true saying of the Jews, "That great men, (and we may say good men,) commonly find stones for their own monuments;" and laudable actions always support themselves; and as an author† observes on a similar subject, the thing, "if right, will defend itself; if wrong, none can defend it; truth *needs* not, falsehood *deserves* not a supporter."

Indeed, it must be regretted, that this collection is not brought out, with more advantage to the cause of Christ and the interest of religion, in commending the mighty acts of the Lord done for and by his servants, in a way suitable to the merit and dignity of such a subject. In this case it is the greater pity, "That those who have a good will to such a piece of service cannot do it, while those who should and can do it will not do it." But I shall make no other apology

* 1 Cor. iii. 11.

† Fuller in the preface to his *Lives in the holy state*.

than what our Saviour, in another case, said of the woman, "She hath done what she could."

I shall only remark farther, anent the method observed in the following lives that they are all, in general, ranged in order, according to the time of their exit, and not of their birth; and that in general, the account of their birth, parentage, and memorable transactions, is first inserted. Then follows their character, which oftentimes is just one's testimony successively of another; and last of all their works.* That which is given in their own words, generally stands in commas.

I know it is usual, when relating matters of fact, to make remarks and reflections, but as this often subjects an author to the suspicion of party zeal, they are designedly waved in the body of the work. Any thing of this kind is placed in the notes, where the reader is at more freedom to choose or refuse as he pleases, only with this proviso, That truth be always regarded.

The last thing to be noticed is, That as the credit due to this history depends upon the authors from whom it is extracted, the reader will find the most part of them mentioned in the notes; so that if any one doubts of any statement contained in it, he may have recourse to the original authors,† some of whom, though enemies to Reformation principles, serve, nevertheless, to illustrate the facts herein detailed.

But to conclude, may the Lord arise and plead His own cause, in putting a final stop to all manner of prevailing wickedness; and hasten that day when the glorious light of the gospel shall shine forth in purity, and with power and success, as in former times; when all these heats, animosities, and divisions, that now prevail among Christ's professed friends, shall be healed, and when cemented and knitted to one another, they shall join heart and hand together in the matters of the Lord, and the concerns of his glory; "when Ephraim shall no more envy Judah, and Judah shall no more vex Ephraim, but both shall fly upon the shoulders of the Philistines;"‡ "when her officers shall be peace, and her exactors righteousness, when the Lord shall bring again the captivity of Zion;" so that, whilst we thus endeavour to

* It is not at all pretended that all and every part of their works is here inserted, but only those most commonly in print, or those come to the knowledge of the publishers.

† The reader is desired to remember, that in so much citing there are different editions; and for what mistakes may have otherwise crept in, in the press, I cannot be altogether answerable, as not having the opportunity to compare the manuscript, or all the original papers cited therein, with the copy printed.

‡ Isa. xi. 13.

perpetuate the memory of these worthies, and to narrate what the Lord did for and by them, in the days of old, we may have somewhat to declare of his goodness and wonderful works done for us, in our own day and generation also.

And if the following sheets should in the least prove useful through divine grace, to the reclaiming of neutrals from back-sliding courses, to the confirming of the doubting and to the encouraging of others to the like fortitude and zeal, to contend for their most valuable privileges, then, I shall think my pains compensated, and my object gained. For that many may be found "standing in the way, to see and ask for the good old paths, and walk therein, cleaving to the law and to the testimony," would be the joy, and is the earnest desire, impartial reader, of one who remains thy friend and well-wisher in the truth,

JOHN HOWIE.

LOCHGOIN, }
JULY, 21, 1775. }

THE
LIVES AND CHARACTERS
OF THE
SCOTTISH COVENANTERS.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

CHRISTIANITY seems to have made its appearance in Scotland at a very early period, having been, according to some writers, introduced into it by the apostles themselves. Some say, that Simon Zelotes, others that Paul, was for some time in this part of the world; but as this opinion is not supported by proper documents, it merits only the regard due to conjecture, not the attention which undoubted history demands. Another, and more probable account, is, that during the persecution raised by Domitian, the twelfth and last of the Cæsars, about A.D. 96, some of the disciples of the Apostle John fled into our island, and there propagated the religion of Jesus. But by whatever means it was originally conveyed hither, certain it is, if an accidental expression of Tertullian is to be relied on as evidence, that this religion was known and received in Scotland previous to the end of the second century.

It does not seem that Christianity made any very signal progress for a considerable time. The first account of its success that can be depended on, is, that about A.D. 203, King Donald I., with his Queen and several courtiers, were baptized, and continued for a time zealously to promote its interests, in opposition to Pagan idolatry. But the invasion of the Emperor Severus so disturbed this king's measures, that for more than seventy years thereafter true religion seems to have declined, and the idolatry of the Druids to have prevailed. The Druids were an order of heathen priests, who performed their rites in groves of oak trees, a species of idolatry of great antiquity, being the same with that to which the Jews of old so often revolted, and of which mention is made in the lives of Ahab, Manasseh, and others, contained in the Books of Kings. They possessed also a considerable share of civil power, being the ordinary arbitrators in almost all controversies, and highly esteemed by the people. This made it very difficult to establish a religion so opposite to, and subversive of theirs: but the difficulties which Christianity has in every age had to encounter, have generally served its interest, and illustrated the power and grace of its Divine Author. About the year 277, these Druids were finally expelled by King Cratlinth, who took care to obliterate every memorial of them; and from this period we may date the era of Christianity in

Scotland, since from this time forward, until the persecution under the Emperor Diocletian, in the beginning of the fourth century, a gradual increase of the true knowledge of God and religion pervaded the country. That persecution became so hot in the south of Britain, as to drive many, both preachers and professors, into Scotland, where they were kindly received, and had the Isle of Man, then in possession of the Scots, given them for their residence, and a sufficient maintenance assigned them. King Cratiliath, also, built a church for them in Icolumbkill, one of the western isles, which was called the Church of our SAVIOUR, in the Greek, Σωτηρ, and now by corruption SODOR. Thus established, therefore, these men were not employed, like the Druidical priests in whose place they had come, in settling the worldly affairs of men, but gave themselves wholly to religious services, instructing the ignorant, comforting the weak, administering the sacraments, and training up disciples to the same office.

Whether these refugees were the ancient Culdees or a distinct set of men, it is not easy nor material, to determine. The Culdees (from *Cultores Dei*, worshippers of God,) certainly flourished at this period, and were called Μοναχοι, or Monks, from the recluse lives which they led; and the cells into which they retired, being after their deaths, mostly converted into churches, retain, to this day, their names, as Cell, or Kill, or church of Marnock; Kil-Patrick, Kil-Malcom, &c. They seem to have chosen Superintendents from among themselves, whose office obliged them to go through the country, to see that every one discharged his duty properly: but these persons were utter strangers to the lordly power of the modern prelate, they had no proper diocese, and only a temporary superintendency, with which they were invested by their brethren, to whom they were accountable. This was an institution, in the spirit of it, similar to the private censures of ministers among Presbyterians.

During the reigns of Cratiliath, and Fincormac, his successor, the Culdees continued in a flourishing condition: but after the death of the latter, both the Church and State of Scotland went into great disorder. Maximus, the Roman Prefect, perceiving this, stirred up the Picts to aid him against the Scots, who were totally defeated, and their King, Ewen, with most part of the nobility, slain, in a battle which was fought about the year 380, at the water of Doon in Carrick. This overthrow was immediately succeeded by an edict commanding all the Scots, without exception, under pain of death, to depart the kingdom against a certain day; an edict which drove them entirely into Ireland, and the western isles of Denmark and Norway, with the exception of a few ecclesiastics, who wandered about from place to place.

Such being the political state of the country, the condition of the Church was equally depressed. The Culdees were by degrees constrained to withdraw and to seek shelter and subsistence among their exiled countrymen. After the lapse, however, of forty-four, or, according to Buchanan, twenty-seven years, the Picts became sensible of their error, in assisting the Romans against the Scots, and having strengthened the hands of a few who remained, they invited the fugitives back into their own land. Accordingly, joined

by some foreigners, they returned, with Fergus II. then in Denmark, at their head. Their enterprise which happened about the year 404, or, as others will have it, 420, was the more successful, that by this time many of the Roman forces were recalled. Their king was crowned with the usual rites in his own country, and the news of his success drew great numbers to him; insomuch that they recovered all the country out of which they had been expelled. Most of the foreign forces returned home, except the Irish, who received the district of Galloway as a reward for their services.

The Culdees were now called from their banishment, or lurking places, restored to their livings, had their churches repaired and acquired the people's esteem to a higher degree than ever: but this tranquillity was again interrupted by a more formidable enemy than before. The Pelagian heresy, so called from Pelagius, a monk of Rome, had now gained considerable ground in Britain. Its chief articles are; that original sin is not inherent; that faith is a thing natural; and that good works, done by our own strength, of our own free-will, are agreeable to the law of God, and worthy of heaven. But whether all, or only part of these errors, then infected the Scottish Church, is uncertain; Celestine, however, then Bishop of Rome, embraced the opportunity to send Palladius into England, who, joining with the orthodox, restored peace to the church in that quarter by suppressing the heresy. And Even the Second, desirous that the church in Scotland likewise should be purged of the impure leaven, invited Palladius hither, who obtaining liberty from Celestine, and being enjoined to introduce the hierarchy as opportunity might offer, accordingly came, and succeeded so effectually in his commission, as both to confute Pelagianism and new-model the Church.

Previous to this, the Church of Scotland knew no officers vested with pre-eminence above their brethren, nor had it any connection with the Roman Pontiff, until about the year 450. Bede says, "That unto the Scots, who believed in Christ, Palladius was sent by the Pope as their first bishop." Boetius likewise says, "That Palladius was the first who exercised sacred rule among the Scots, being made bishop by the Pope." And Fordun, in his Chronicle, tells us that, "before the coming of Palladius, the Scots following the customs of the primitive church, had for teachers of the faith, and ministers of the sacraments, only Presbyters, or monks." We know, moreover, from tradition, even the scene of his residence and labours. It is said to have been in that district which now constitutes the Shire of Kinross. The place where his ashes are said to repose, is still marked by the ruins of a Chapel bearing his name, and for many ages was repaired to by Christians, with the view of expiating their sins and securing his intercession. We may therefore consider him as having primarily opened that commerce and connection, which gradually obtained more and more between Scotland and Rome. From the era of his arrival in this country, the Pope was recognised as head of the Church; was occasionally applied to, for his decision in matters of controversy, and generally regarded with a degree of veneration that gradually prepared the minds of men, for that humiliating subjection to the Roman See, in which they were afterwards so generally involved.

But we are not to fix the era of diocesan bishops even so early as this; for there were no such office-bearers in the Church of Scotland, until the reign of Malcolm II. in the eleventh century. During the first thousand years after Christ, the Bishops had no separate dioceses, nor superiorities over others, but they governed in the church in common with Presbyters; so that they were no more than nominal Bishops, possessing little or nothing of that lordly dignity which they now do, and for a long time past have enjoyed. Spottiswood himself testifies, that the Scottish bishops, before the eleventh century, exercised their functions, indifferently, in every place to which they came. Palladius may be said therefore to have rather laid the foundation, than to have built the superstructure of corruption and idolatry, which afterwards existed in the Church of Scotland, for we find she continued for nearly two hundred years in a state quite pure and unspotted, when compared with the following periods of her history.

About the end of the sixth, and the beginning of the seventh century, a number of pious and learned men flourished in the country, among whom was Kentigern, commonly called St. Mungo. Some of these were employed by Oswald, a Northumbrian King, to instruct his people; and are represented by Bede, as eminent for their love to God, and knowledge of the Scriptures. By their means, the light of the Gospel broke into parts of the Saxon dominions, which long maintained an opposition to the growing usurpation of the Church of Rome; an usurpation which, after the middle of this century, was strenuously supported by the disciples of Austin. And besides these men, the Church of Scotland at this time sent many other worthy and successful Missionaries into foreign parts, particularly into France and Germany.

Thus was she early privileged, and thus were her privileges improved; but soon "the gold became dim, and the most fine gold was changed." Popery came by degrees to show her horrid head. The assiduity of Austin and his disciples in England, was also attended with the most melancholy consequences in Scotland; and through fomenting her divisions, corrupting her princes with Romish principles, and inattention to the lives of her clergy, the Papal power was at length universally acknowledged. Yet this subjection, it must be observed, was neither the effect of one attempt, nor the work of one age; nor was it submitted to tamely, but after several violent struggles to resist it, on the part of our forefathers. Early in the seventh century, a warm contest arose between Austin and his disciples on the one side, and the Scots and northern Saxons on the other, about the time of keeping Easter, the threefold immersion in baptism, the shaving of priests, &c.; which the later would not receive, nor yet acknowledge the authority that imposed them. Each party refused ministerial communion with the other, until an arbitral decision being given at Whitby in Yorkshire, in favour of the Romanists, by Osway king of the Northumbrians, the opinions of the Scots were exploded, and the modish fooleries of the Papal hierarchy established. This decision, however, was far from putting an end to the confusion, which the dissension had occasioned; the Romanists urged their rites with rigour, the others chose to give up

their places rather than conform. Their discouragements daily increased, as the clerical power was augmented; and during the seventh and eighth centuries, it continued to make advancement by rapid strides. Towards the end of the seventh century, it became customary for men, bent on preferment in the Church, to repair to Rome, and as might be expected, such men, on their return, became active instruments in promoting the papal interests. Nor was the See of Rome idle in employing more direct measures to prosper the work. For by means of Boniface, one of its most distinguished emissaries, and notwithstanding the most avowed and intrepid resistance of some of the native Clergy, we find that some of its worst errors and practices were, about this time, introduced and complied with. During the eighth century indeed, there arose several individuals, whose names shed a lustre over that dark period of the Church's history: and during the first half of the ninth, under the vigorous government of Constantine II. we discover a disposition, and even endeavours, both in prince and people, to resist the encroachments, and correct the disorders of the Clergy. Towards the latter end of this century, however, there seems to have been a reaction in their favour. For we find that in the year 886, they obtained an act, exempting them from taxes and all civil prosecutions before temporal judges, and ordaining that all matters concerning them should be tried by their bishops, who were at this time vested with those powers, which are now in the hands of commissioners on matrimonial causes, testaments, &c. They were likewise by the same statute, empowered to make canons, try heretics, &c.; and all future kings, were bound by it to take an oath at their coronation, for maintaining these privileges to the Church. The convention of Estates which passed this act was held at Forfar, in the reign of that too indulgent prince, Gregory. In the course of the succeeding century, matters gradually became worse. Such was the influence of the Clergy over Constantine III. that they prevailed with him on receiving the news of a battle in which his army was defeated, to relinquish his crown, and become a monk.

In the eleventh and following century, Malcolm III. Alexander I. David I. &c. successively supported and confirmed the papal power, by erecting particular bishoprics, abbeys, and monasteries. The same superstitious zeal seized the nobility of both sexes; some giving a third, others more, and others the whole of their estates, in support of a pontifical pride, and spiritual tyranny, which soon became intolerable, and which at length opened the eyes of the nation to see their error in raising the clerical authority to such a height. Accordingly, we find the nobles appealing from under it to Alexander III., who reigned after the middle of the thirteenth century; but so far was he from being able to afford them redress, that the whole land being excommunicated on account of this complaint, he was obliged to cause them to satisfy both the avarice and arrogance of the clergy, who had resolved upon retiring to Rome; being afraid they might raise such commotions in Scotland, as Thomas Becket had lately made in England. In another instance, indeed, he evinced a more determined spirit in braving the hostility of the Papal See. For the clergy being required by the Pope to pay to King Henry of Eng-

land, a tenth part of their benefices, under pretence of supporting a crusade to the Holy Land, Alexander boldly interposed, and would not permit the money to be given.

But again to refer to the twelfth century, the Pope's power was now generally acknowledged over Christendom, and in our nation also; and in return, the Church of Scotland was declared free from all foreign spiritual jurisdiction, that of the "Apostolic See only excepted." The Bull in which this declaration was made, was occasioned by an attempt of Roger, Archbishop of York, in the year 1159, to raise himself to the dignity of Metropolitan of Scotland. He having found means to become Legate of this kingdom, lost that office upon the remonstrance of the clergy. This remonstrance likewise procured for them many other favours of a like nature; by all of which, they were exempted from any other jurisdiction than that of Rome. And hence, we find Pope Boniface VIII. commanding Edward of England to cease hostilities against the Scots, alleging that "the sovereignty of Scotland belonged to the church;" a claim which seems to have been founded in the Papal appointment for the unction of kings, first used on King Edgar, A. D. 1098, and at that time regarded by the people as a new mark of royalty; but which, as the appointment of the Pope, was in reality a mark of the beast.

There were now in Scotland all orders of Monks and Friars, Templars, or Red Monks, Trinity Monks of Aberdeen, Cistercian Monks, Carmelite, Black and Grey Friars, Carthusians, Dominicans, Franciscans, Jacobines, Benedictines, &c.; a fact which shows to what a height Antichrist had arisen in our land, and how readily his oppressive measures were complied with by all ranks of society.

But the reader must not think, that during the period we have now reviewed, there were none to oppose this torrent of superstition and idolatry; for from the first appearance of the Romish Antichrist in this kingdom, God wanted not witnesses for the truth, who boldly stood forth in defence of the pure and blessed Gospel. Mention is first made of Clements and Samson, two famous Culdees, who, as we have seen in the seventh century, supported the authority of Christ as the only head of his church, against the usurped power of Rome, and who rejected the superstitious rites of Antichrist, as contrary to the simplicity of Gospel institutions. The succeeding age was still more famous for learned and pious men, to whom Scotland gave birth, and whose praise was in the churches abroad; particularly Joannes Scotus Erigena, who wrote a book upon the eucharist, which was condemned by Leo IX. in the year 1030, long after his death. In the ninth century, a Convention of Estates was held at Scone for the reformation of the clergy: their lives and conversations being at that time a reproach to common decency and good manners, not to say piety and religion. The remedies provided at this Convention, discover the nature of the disease. It was ordained, that churchmen should reside upon their charges; that they should not intermeddle with secular affairs, but instruct the people, and be good examples in their conduct; that they should not keep hawks, hounds, or horses for pleasure; that they should carry no weapons, nor be pleaders in civil causes. And if they failed in the observance of these injunctions, they were to be fined for the first, and deposed

for the second transgression. These laws, as we have hinted, were made under King Constantine II. though his successor Gregory rendered them abortive by his lenity. The age following, it is true, was not remarkable for witnesses to the truth; but historians are agreed that there were still some of the Culdees who lived and ministered apart from the Romanists, and taught the people that Christ was the only propitiation for sin, and that his blood alone could wash them from the guilt of it, in opposition to the indulgence and pardons of the Pope. Mr. Shields, in his "Hind Let Loose," affirms that the Culdees transmitted their testimony to the Lollards; and Pope John XXII. in his bull for anointing King Robert Bruce, complains that there were many heretics in Scotland; so that we may safely conclude, there never was any very great period of time without witnesses for the truth, and against the gross corruptions of the church of Rome. Some of our kings themselves opposed the Pope's supremacy, and prohibited his Legates from entering their dominions. A striking instance of this occurred in the reign of William, which extended through the latter part of the twelfth, and the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Bishopric of St. Andrews having become vacant, the king determined to procure the election of Hugh, his own Chaplain, to the office. The chapter, however, asserting their independence of civil authority, chose John, surnamed the Scot. William, by the assistance of the Bishop of Glasgow, having had Hugh nominated, immediately seized the revenues of the See, till a decision favourable to his wishes should be obtained. John having appealed to Rome, the election of his rival was annulled, and the Legate directed to inquire and decide. He accordingly called an assembly of the clergy, declared in favour of John, and actually consecrated him. The king, however, not intimidated by this, banished him, with his most active adherents, from Scotland: and notwithstanding, that the diocese of St. Andrew's was laid under an interdict, Hugh excommunicated, and he himself and his kingdom threatened with, and at last actually exposed to the extremest vengeance of the Holy See, he remained inflexible, till, upon the death of the Pope, by a compromise with his successor, he gained his object. The most remarkable instance of this kind, however, was that of Robert Bruce, in the beginning of the fourteenth century. After being defeated at Bannockburn, the English became suppliants to the Pope for his mediation. He accordingly sent a Legate into Scotland, proposing a cessation of arms till he should hear and decide the quarrel betwixt the crowns, and be informed of the right which Edward had to the crown of Scotland. To this King Robert replied, "That the Pope could not be ignorant of the business, since it had often been explained to his predecessors, in the hearing of many cardinals then alive: who could tell him, if they pleased, what insolent answers Pope Boniface had received from the English, while desiring them to desist from oppressing the Scots. And now," said he, "when it has pleased God to give us the better of them, in some victories, by which we have not only recovered our own, but can make them live like good neighbours, they have recourse to such treaties, in order to gain time, that they may fall upon us again with greater force: But in this, his Holiness must excuse me, for I will

not be so unwise as to let the advantage I now have, slip out of my hand." The Legate regarding this answer as contemptuous, interdicted the kingdom and departed : but King Robert paying little regard to such proceedings, followed hard after the Legate, and entering England, wasted all the adjacent counties with fire and sword.

Great, therefore, and almost boundless as was the influence gradually and at last attained by the See of Rome, over Europe in general, and in particular over Scotland, there were every where, and at all times, to be found a few who discerned, and either secretly or avowedly dissented from, the prevailing errors and corruptions of the church. So early as the twelfth century, the Waldenses, and Albigenses, who held, among other things, that marriage was allowable to all, and that the Old and New Testaments were the only rule of faith, had spread their tenets to a considerable extent over the south of Europe. During the thirteenth century, the minds of men in many places, seem to have been deeply impressed with a sense of the absurdities and abuses inseparable from Popery. And about the middle of the fourteenth, the illustrious Wickliffe, by showing their inconsistency with the word of God, and inculcating the duty of examining and rejecting them, may be said to have begun the Reformation in England. What were all the tenets he promulgated, it is now difficult exactly to ascertain. Certain it is, however, that they struck at the very root of Papal despotism, and were rapidly circulated, and cordially embraced. Nor were the effects of his labours confined to England alone. Among the numerous students who attended him at Oxford, where he had been Rector of a College, there were some who carried his opinions into Germany. There they attracted the attention of John Huss, who, already disgusted by the vices of the clergy, readily embraced such of them as were most hostile to the priesthood; and who, with his friend and associate, Jerome of Prague, was, for his zeal in asserting them, condemned to be burnt, and suffered that horrible death in the beginning of the fifteenth century.

The martyrdom of these innocent men, so far from stopping the march of truth, produced a deep impression in its favour throughout Europe. Numbers every where imbibed the doctrines for which they suffered. And the frequent struggles for the Popedom, and the divisions which, from that and other causes, now prevailed in the Church, afforded at once opportunity and incitement for their explicit avowal. About this time, too, the light of reformation, from the same source, seems to have dawned in Scotland. Many encouraged by the circumstances of the times, began to speak openly against the heresy, tyranny, and immorality of the clergy. In particular, James Resby, an Englishman by birth, and a scholar of Wickliffe, having come into Scotland so early as 1407, continued to propagate his opinions till 1422, when he was accused of denying the Pope's supremacy, and condemned to the fire; a fate which he endured with great constancy. In like manner, about ten years afterwards, Paul Craw, a Bohemian, and a follower of Huss, was seized in St. Andrews, and cited for heresy, before the Doctors of Theology. The principal articles of accusation against him were, his following Huss and Wickliffe in his opinion of the Sacrament, and denying that the substance of bread and

wine were changed, by virtue of words, and, that auricular confession and praying to departed saints were proper. He was committed to the secular judge, condemned to the flames at St. Andrews, and there suffered; being gagged when led to the stake, that he might not have an opportunity of making his confession. Both the above-mentioned martyrs suffered under Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, who in 1412, founded the University of that place; an act which might have done him honour, had he not imbrued his hands in innocent blood.

These returnings of Gospel light were not confined to St. Andrews. Kyle, Carrick, Cunningham, and other districts in the west of Scotland, were in like manner highly favoured. During the two succeeding reigns, indeed, there was little or no movement in regard to religion: but in the time of James IV. the spirit of reformation seems to have revived. We find, that in 1494, Robert Blackatter, the first Archbishop of Glasgow, caused to be summoned before the King and his great Council held there, about thirty individuals in all, and mostly persons of distinction, accused of reformation principles. Among these, were George Campbell of Cessnock, Adam Reid of Barskimming, John Campbell of New-mills, Andrew Shaw of Polkemmet, Lady Pokellie, and Lady Stair. They were opprobriously called the Lollards of Kyle, from Lollard, an eminent preacher among the Waldenses, and were charged under thirty-four articles, with maintaining that images ought not to be worshipped, that the relics of saints should not be adored, and such like obnoxious tenets. But to these accusations, they answered with such boldness, constancy, and effect, that the Archbishop and his associates were at length constrained to drop the proceedings; and it was judged most prudent to dismiss them with the simple admonition, to content themselves with the faith of the Church, and to beware of new doctrines.

Thus have we brought down this summary of Church affairs in Scotland, to the period at which it may be regarded as taken up in the following Biography. For, from the conclusion of the above-mentioned diet, till the time of Patrick Hamilton, whose life stands first in this collection, there occurred no sufferer on account of opposition to Romish tyranny and superstition, in this our country.



PATRICK HAMILTON.*

THIS eminent individual was born about the year of our Lord, 1503; was nephew to the Earl of Arran by his father, and to the

* "We have been accustomed," says Dr. M'Crie, "to suppose that Patrick Hamilton was the first who introduced the reformed opinions into Scotland, that he acquired them abroad, and that they were embraced by very few of his countrymen, previously to his martyrdom. This opinion requires to be corrected. Before that youthful and zealous reformer made his appearance, the errors and corruptions of Popery had been detected by others, who were ready to co-operate with him in his measures of reform. The more the subject is investigated, the more clearly, I am persuaded, it will appear, that the opinions of Wickliffe had

Duke of Albany by his mother, and was also related to King James V. of Scotland. He was early educated with a view to future high preferment, and had the abbacy of Ferne given him, for his maintenance whilst prosecuting his studies, which he did with great assiduity.

In order to complete this laudable object, he resolved to travel into Germany. The fame of the University of Wittenberg was then very high, and drew to it from distant places many, among whom Hamilton was one. He was the first who introduced public disputations upon theological questions, into the University of Marburg, in which he was assisted by Francis Lambert, by whose conversation he profited not a little.—Here, also, he became acquainted with these eminent reformers, Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon, besides other learned men of their society. By these distinguished masters he was instructed in the knowledge of the true religion, which he had little opportunity to become acquainted with in his own country, the small remains of it which were in Scotland at this time, being under the yoke of oppression, as we have already shown in the close of the Introduction.—In this most important study he made an amazing proficiency, and soon became as zealous in the profession of the true faith, as he had been diligent to attain the knowledge of it.—This drew the eyes of many upon him; and while they were waiting with impatience to see what part he would act, he came to the resolution to return to his native country, and there, in the face of all dangers, to communicate to its inhabitants the light which he had received.

Accordingly, being as yet a youth, and not much past twenty-three years of age, he began to sow the seed of God's word wherever he came, exposing the corruptions of the Romish church, and pointing out the errors which had crept into the Christian religion as professed in Scotland.—He was favourably received and followed by many, to whom he readily "showed the way of God more perfectly;" his reputation as a scholar, and his courteous demeanour, contributing not a little to his usefulness in the good work.

The city of St. Andrews was at this time the grand rendezvous of the Romish clergy, and might with no impropriety be called the metropolis of the kingdom of darkness. There were to be found in it, James Beaton the archbishop; Hugh Spence, dean of divinity; John

the most powerful and extensive influence upon the Reformation. Even in Scotland they contributed greatly to predispose the minds of men to the Protestant doctrine. We can trace the existence of the Lollards, in Ayrshire, from the time of Wickliffe to the days of George Wishart. And in Fife they were so numerous, as to have formed the design of rescuing Patrick Hamilton by force, on the day of his execution."—*Life of Melville*, Vol. i. p. 8.

The same judicious writer corrects another pretty common mistake, into which even Dr. Robertson has fallen, that the first who received the reformed doctrines were chiefly in the lower or middle ranks of life. The preachers themselves, such as Hamilton, Wishart, and Knox, were men of good family; and they had many of the nobility and gentry among their regular hearers. "The reformation of religion," says Dr. M., "was preceded by the revival of letters throughout Europe: the principal reformers were men of superior talents and education; and their cause was espoused, and essentially promoted by persons who possessed secular authority and influence."—*Ibid*, p. 9.

W. M'G.

Waddel, rector; James Simson, official; Thomas Ramsay, canon and dean of the abbey; with the several superiors of the different orders of monks and friars.—It could not be expected that Mr. Hamilton's conduct should be long concealed from such a body as this. Their resentment against him soon rose to the utmost height of persecuting rage. In particular the Archbishop, who was Chancellor of the kingdom, and otherwise very powerful, became his inveterate enemy; but being not less politic than cruel, he concealed his wicked design against him, until he had drawn him into the ambush he had prepared, by prevailing on him to attend a conference at St. Andrews.—Being come thither, Alexander Campbell, prior of the black friars, who had been appointed to exert his powers in reclaiming him, had several private interviews with him, and seemed to acknowledge the force of Mr. Hamilton's objections against the prevailing conduct of the clergy, and the errors of the Romish church. Such persuasions, however, as were used to bring him back to Popery, had rather the tendency to confirm him in the truth. The archbishop, too, and the inferior clergy, appeared to make concessions to him, allowing that many things stood in need of reformation, which they could wish had been brought about. But whether they were sincere in these acknowledgments, or only intended to conceal their bloody designs, and render the innocent and unsuspecting victim of their rage more secure, is a question to which this answer may be returned, That had they been sincere, the consciousness that Mr. Hamilton spoke the truth, would at least have warded off the blow for some time longer, or divided their counsels and measures against him.—That neither of these was the case, will now appear. He was apprehended under night, and committed prisoner to the castle. At the same time, the young king, at the earnest solicitation of the clergy, was prevailed upon to undertake a pilgrimage to St. Dothess, in Rosshire, that he might be out of the way of any applications that might be made to him for Mr. Hamilton's life, which there was reason to believe would be granted. This measure affords full proof, that notwithstanding the friendly conferences which they kept up with him for a time, they had resolved on his ruin from the beginning; but such instances of Popish dissembling were not new, even in the period of which we are treating.

The day after his imprisonment, he was brought before the Archbishop and his convention, and charged with maintaining and propagating sundry heretical opinions; and though articles of the utmost importance had been debated betwixt him and them, they restricted their charge to such trifles as *pilgrimage, purgatory, praying to saints, and for the dead*; perhaps because these were the grand pillars upon which Antichrist built his empire, being the most lucrative doctrines ever invented by men. We must, however, take notice, that Spottiswood, afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrew's, assigns the following as the tenets for which he suffered: "that the corruption of sin remains in children after their baptism; that no man by the power of his free-will can do any good; that no man is without sin as long as he liveth; that every true Christian may know himself to be in a

state of grace; that a man is not justified by works, but by faith only; that good works make not a man good, but that a good man doth good works, and that an ill man doth ill works; yet the same ill works, truly repented of, make not an ill man; that faith, hope, and charity, are so linked together, that he who hath one of them hath all, and he that lacketh one lacketh all; that God is the cause of sin in this sense, that he withdraweth his grace from man: and grace withdrawn, he cannot but sin." These articles, with the following, make up the whole charge: "that auricular confession is not necessary to salvation; that actual penance cannot purchase the remission of sin; that there is no purgatory, and that the holy Patriarchs were in heaven before Christ's passion; that the Pope is Antichrist, and that every priest hath as much power as he."—And for these articles, and because he refused to abjure them, he was condemned as an obstinate heretic, and delivered to the secular power by the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, three bishops, and fourteen underlings, setting their hands to the sentence; which, that it might have the greater authority, was likewise subscribed by every person of note in the University, and among others by the Earl of Casillis, though then, not exceeding thirteen years of age. The sentence as given by Mr. Fox, in his Acts and Monuments of Martyrs, is as follows:—

"*CHRISTI nomine invocato*: We James, by the mercy of God, Archbishop of St. Andrews, primate of Scotland, with the counsel, decree, and authority, of the most reverend fathers in God, and lords, abbots, doctors of theology, professors of the Holy Scripture, and masters of the University, assisting us for the time, sitting in judgment, within our metropolitan church of St. Andrews, in the cause of heretical pravity, against Mr. Patrick Hamilton, abbot or pensionary of Ferne, being summoned to appear before us, to answer to certain articles affirmed, taught and preached by him, and so appearing before us, and accused, the merits of the cause being ripely weighed, discussed, and understood, by faithful inquisition made in Lent last past: We have found the same Mr. Hamilton many ways infamed with heresy, disputing, holding and maintaining divers heresies of Martin Luther and his followers repugnant to our faith, and which are already condemned by general councils and most famous Universities. And he being under the same infamy before, we discerning him to be summoned and accused upon the premises, he of evil mind, (as may be presumed,) passed to other parts, forth of the realm, suspected and noted of heresy. And being lately returned, not being admitted, but of his own head, without license or privilege, hath presumed to preach wicked heresy.

"We have found also that he hath affirmed, published, and taught divers opinions of Luther, and wicked heretics, after that he was summoned to appear before us and our council: That man hath no free-will; That man is in sin so long as he liveth; That children, incontinent after their baptism, are sinners; That all Christians, that be worthy to be called Christians, do know that they are in grace; That no man is justified by works but by faith only; That good works

make not a good man, but a good man doth make good works; That faith, hope, and charity, are so knit, that he that hath the one hath the rest, and he that wanteth one of them wanteth the rest; with divers other heresies and detestable opinions: and hath persisted so obstinate in the same, that by no council or persuasion he may be drawn therefrom, to the way of our right faith.

"All these premises being considered, we having God and the integrity of our faith before our eyes, and following the council and advice of the professors of the Holy Scripture, men of law, and others assisting us for the time, do pronounce, determine, and declare, the said Mr. Patrick Hamilton, for his affirming, confessing, and maintaining of the foresaid heresies, and his pertinacy, (they being condemned already by the church, by general councils, and most famous universities,) to be an heretic, and to have an evil opinion of the faith, and therefore to be condemned and punished, like as we condemn and define him to be punished by this our sentence definitive, depriving and sentencing him to be deprived of all dignities, honours, orders, offices, and benefices in the church; and therefore do judge and pronounce him to be delivered over to the secular power, to be punished and his goods to be confiscated.

"This our sentence definitive was given and read at our metropolitan church of St. Andrews, the last day of the month of February, *anno* 1527, being present, the most reverend fathers in Christ, and lords, Gawand, archbishop of Glasgow; George, bishop of Dunkeld; John, bishop of Brechin; William, bishop of Dunblane; Patrick, prior of St. Andrews; David, abbot of Aberbrothoc; George, abbot of Dunfermline; Alexander, abbot of Cambuskeneth; Henry, abbot of Lenders; John, prior of Pittenweeme; the dean and subdean of Glasgow; Mr Hugh Spence, Thomas Ramsay, Allan Meldrum, &c. in the presence of the clergy and the people."

The same day on which this doom was pronounced, he was also condemned by the secular power; and in the afternoon of that day, (for they were afraid of an application to the king on his behalf,) he was hurried to the stake, immediately after dinner; the fire being prepared, in the area before the gate of St. Salvator's College. Being come to the place of Martyrdom, he put off his clothes, and gave them to a servant who had been long with him, saying, "This stuff will not help me in the fire, yet will do thee some good; I have no more to leave thee, but the ensample of my death, which I pray thee keep in mind; for albeit the same be bitter and painful in man's judgment, yet it is the entrance to everlasting life, which none can inherit who deny Christ before this wicked generation." Having so said, he commended his soul into the hands of God, having his eyes fixed towards heaven; and being bound to the stake in the midst of some coals, timber and other combustibles, a train of powder was made, with a design to kindle the fire, but did not succeed; the explosion only scorching his face and one of his hands. In this situation he remained until more powder was brought from the castle, during which time his comfortable and good speeches were often interrupted, particularly by Friar Campbell, calling upon him "to recant, pray to our Lady

and say, the *Salve Regina*." Upon being repeatedly disturbed in this manner, by Campbell, Mr. Hamilton said, "Thou wicked man, thou knowest that I am not an heretic, and that it is the truth of God for which I now suffer; so much didst thou confess unto me in private; and thereupon I appeal thee to answer before the judgment-seat of Christ." By this time the fire was kindled, and the noble martyr yielded up his soul to God, crying out, "How long, O Lord, shall darkness overwhelm this realm? How long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men?" and ending with the saying of Stephen, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."*

Friar Campbell soon after became distracted, and died within a year after Mr. Hamilton's martyrdom, under the most awful apprehensions of the Lord's indignation against him.† The Popish clergy abroad congratulated their friends in Scotland, upon their zeal for the Romish faith discovered in the above tragedy. But it rather served than retarded the cause of Reformation, as the following sketches of the principal individuals, who shortly after suffered for that cause, tend to evince.

* Hamilton had some relatives who were honoured to be sufferers for the same cause, as we read in Spottiswood; "The persecution still proceeding, divers were cited to appear at *Halirudhouse*, by James Hay, Bishop of Ross, who sat as commissioner for the Archbishop of St. Andrews; amongst others, James Hamilton of Lavington, brother german to Master Patrick, with Catherine Hamilton his sister. The gentleman was advised by the king secretly, (for he loved the man) not to appear, and was for his own contumacy condemned. His sister appearing, and being questioned upon the point of justification by works, answered simply, that she believed no person could be saved by their works. Mr. John Spence the lawyer, held a long discourse with her about that purpose, telling her that there were different sorts of works, works of congruity, and works of condignity; in the application whereof, he consumed a long time. The woman thereupon growing into a chafe, cried out, 'Work here, work there, what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly, that no works can save me but the work of Christ my Saviour.' The King was present all the time, and laughed heartily at the answer, yet, taking the gentlewoman aside, he moved her to recant her opinions, and by her example divers others, at the same time, abjured their profession." Probably this lady would have stood the fire as well as her brother, had she been tried in that way; but the blandishments of royalty were too much for her. W. M'G.

† There are on record many instances of the Divine displeasure being, even in the present life, manifestly displayed against persecutors and apostates, as will appear in the course of this work; but this is not always the case; and we ought not to judge of characters according to what is visible, or not visible, in this respect. "Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord; and the Lord will judge his people," and vindicate their cause. But he does this in his own time, and in his own way. Many of his greatest enemies, and the greatest enemies of his cause, have "no bands in their death;" no visible symptoms of their being more wretched than others; but their condition is not, on that account, the less deplorable. The day of judgment will lay open every thing. W. M'G.

HENRY FORREST.

WHEN the people began to compare the conduct and fate of Hamilton with that of Campbell, they were induced to inquire more narrowly into the truth than before. The fears of the Clergy, accordingly, were soon revived by the open profession of the same obnoxious tenets.—In particular, Alexander Seton, a friar of the order of Dominicans,* and confessor to the King, being appointed to preach at St. Andrews during the lent which immediately succeeded Mr. Hamilton's death, embraced the opportunity of publicly inculcating doctrines, almost literally the same with those for which that martyr had lately suffered. He was consequently denounced as a heretic, removed from the royal presence, and obliged to consult his safety by flying into England. It was not, however, till about five years afterwards, that any instance occurred of persecution unto death. During that season, the attention of the prelates had been engrossed, by the political troubles which distracted the country. But in the year 1532, their measures against heretics were resumed, and that with an increase of ardour, which plainly showed that their forbearance had been occasioned by any thing but the restraints of wisdom and mercy.

* It is worthy of remark, that one of the first converts to the truth for which Hamilton suffered, was one of the order most hostile to the new heresy. St. Dominic will ever be remembered as the founder of the Inquisition. It is related, that before he was born, his mother dreamed that she was delivered of a whelp with a torch in its mouth, which was explained to mean, that her child was destined to enlighten the world; but afterwards, when his character was developed, it was alleged rather that he was made to set the world on fire. He has ever been a great favourite with the high authorities of the Romish church. "One of the most celebrated images in Italy," says Dr. Middleton, "is that of St. Dominic, in Surriano in Calabria, which, as their histories testify, was brought down from heaven, about two centuries ago, by the Virgin Mary in person, accompanied by Mary Magdalen and St. Catharine. Before this glorious picture as they affirm, great numbers of the dead have been restored to life, and hundreds from the agonies of death; the dumb, the blind, the deaf, the lame, have been cured, and all sorts of diseases and mortal wounds have been healed; all which facts are attested by public notaries, and confirmed by the relations of cardinals, prelates, generals, and priors of that order, and the certainty of them so generally believed, that from the 9th of July, to the 9th of August, the anniversary feast of the saint, they have always counted above a hundred thousand pilgrims, and many of them of the highest quality, who come from different parts of Europe, to pay their devotions, and make their offerings at this picture." (*La vie St. Dominic, as quoted by Middleton.*) Until the rise of the Jesuits there was no order that could compete with the Dominicans, except the Franciscans: and these two orders hated each other most heartily, and maintained a long and furious controversy about the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary; the Franciscans stoutly maintaining that she was born immaculate, while the Dominicans asserted that she came into the world under original sin, though its effects were soon removed.

W. M'G.

The first victim and example of their cruelty was Henry Forrest. Of his parentage, descent, and previous history, no memorials have been preserved. At the time when he attracted the fatal notice of his persecutors, he is said to have been young in years, a friar of the order of Benedictines, and resident at Linlithgow. Having said to the effect, that Mr. Hamilton was a good man, and had died a martyr, and that the doctrines for which he suffered might be vindicated, he was, at the instance of the then Archbishop, apprehended for heresy, and committed to the prison at St. Andrews. Anxious, however, as they were to condemn him, the evidence against him, it would appear, even in the estimation of his enemies, was not sufficient. But he was nevertheless still kept in confinement; and, with the view of extorting from himself some declaration which they might employ against him, they caused a friar, named Walter Laing, to hear his confession. His willingness to engage in this ordinance of the church, may warrant the inference, that he had not departed very far from her acknowledged tenets. He received the friar as a spiritual comforter, and not suspecting the treachery which the cloak of religion concealed, he without hesitation declared upon his conscience, that, in his opinion, Hamilton was a good man, and that the doctrines which he died maintaining were not heretical. The Confessor, regardless of every honourable feeling, revealed what he had heard, and his evidence was held sufficient to establish the crime of heresy.

There was another circumstance, however, which, in the eyes of his persecutors, greatly added to Forrest's guilt. He had been found to be possessed of a New Testament in English, and such was the blindness or the bigotry which in those ages prevailed, that the perusal of that Book, which, the Saviour himself enjoined as a duty, was held to be a crime worthy of death, by those who impiously called themselves his servants. Forrest was accordingly declared to be a heretic, and condemned to be burnt alive. Nor was it long till this sentence was executed in all its rigour.

When the fatal day arrived, and he was brought before the clergy, in a place, between the castle of St. Andrews and Monymuel, he complained, with the utmost bitterness, of the villany by which he had been entrapped: "Fie on falsehood!" he cried, "Fie on false friars, revealers of confessions; after this day let no man ever trust false friars, contemners of God's word, and deceivers of men." The clergy heard his reproaches with the greatest indifference, and proceeded to degrade him of his friar's orders. Upon this he again exclaimed, "Take from me not only your own orders, but also your own baptism;" referring to the absurd additions which Popery had made to that simple rite. He was thereafter denounced as "a heretic equal with Patrick Hamilton," and immediately led to the stake, where he suffered death, near the abbey church of St. Andrews.

Thus died Henry Forrest; but his death, far from allaying, seemed only to have increased the fury of persecution. In the following year, 1534, numbers were summoned to appear at Holyroodhouse,

before the Bishop of Ross, who sat as commissioner for the Primate. Of these, there were some who consulted their safety by flight, and others by recantation.* Two, however, viz. Gourlay and Straiton, to their immortal honour, remained inflexible; and of them it may be proper to subjoin a short account.

NORMAN GOURLAY, AND DAVID STRAITON.

OF Norman Gourlay, little is known. It would appear that, like many others of the early reformers, he was of respectable parentage, for we find that he had travelled abroad, a practice at that period thought necessary to complete the education of a Scottish gentleman. It would also seem that he was in secular orders; and Knox has described him as a man of "reasonable erudition, in whom appeared knowledge, although joined with some weaknesses." It is still farther related of him, that on returning from his travels, and notwithstanding his clerical character, he had the boldness to marry, a circumstance which constituted a great part of the crime for which he was called upon to suffer. "For," says Pitscottie, "they would thole no priest to marry, but they would punish and burn him dead; but if he had used ten thousand whores, he had not been burnt."—He was also accused, however, of having asserted that there was no such place as purgatory; and that the Pope was not a Bishop but Antichrist, and had no jurisdiction in Scotland.

With regard to his fellow-sufferer, David Straiton, history has transmitted some interesting particulars. Fox, in his martyrology, styles him a fisherman; but he was in reality a gentleman of small estate on the sea-coast of Angus, was descended of the ancient family of the Straitons of Laurieston, and according to Dr. McCrie, was brother to the laird of that ilk. Perhaps the venerable Martyrologist was led into this mistake, from the nature of one of the charges preferred against him. Induced by the local advantages of his situation, it appears he had procured a boat with the view of fishing, chiefly, it is most probable, for the supply of his own family. Out of this the then Bishop of Murray, being prior of St. Andrews, demanded a tithe; a demand to which Straiton answered by saying, that if they would have tithe of what his servants won at sea, it was but reasonable that they should come and receive it, even where the stock was obtained; and, as is affirmed, he thereafter caused them to cast every tenth fish into the sea. A process was accordingly entered against him, which, having contemned, he was forthwith summoned to answer for heresy. This, it appears, deeply affected him, and was the happy mean, under Providence, of rousing him to serious thought. He had hitherto displayed a stubborn disposition, rough manners, and a great contempt for reading, especially of a religious kind. But now he was led to inquiry, and earn-

estly sought after the acquaintance of those who could either speak or read to him (being unable to read himself) on the subjects which interested his mind. Hence, as Spottiswood observes, "he became another man, through frequenting the company of John Erskine of Dun, by whom it pleased God to enlighten his mind with the knowledge of his truth, and to kindle in his heart an ardent love of it." Mr. Erskine, by his friendly attention, having gained a considerable influence over him, encouraged him to be often in his company, and warmly exhorted him to a change of life. He also invited him to hear the Scriptures read and explained, at his house, either by himself or some of the reformed teachers whom he frequently entertained. And the following anecdote will serve, by proving the sincerity of his conversion, to show that he profited by the various advantages which he thus enjoyed. One day, having retired with the young Laird of Laurieston to a quiet and solitary place in the fields, to have the New Testament read to him; it so happened that in the course of reading, these words of our Saviour occurred, "He that denieth me before men, in the midst of this wicked generation, him will I deny in the presence of my Father, and his angels." On hearing them, he became of a sudden as one enraptured or inspired. He threw himself on his knees, extended his hands, and after looking for some time, earnestly, towards heaven, he burst forth in these words, "O Lord, I have been wicked, and justly mayest thou withdraw thy grace from me; but, Lord, for thy mercies' sake, let me never deny thee nor thy truth, for fear of death and corporal pains."

The issue proved that his prayer was not in vain. For, says Spottiswood, "David Straiton, at his trial and death, behaved most constantly to the defence of the truth, and gave great encouragement to another gentleman, Norman Goumlay, who suffered along with him." Accordingly, when brought before the diet at Holyroodhouse, though strongly urged by the Bishop and others of the clergy, they maintained their innocence, vindicated their principles, and refused to recant. They were of course condemned as obstinate heretics, and sentenced to be hanged and burnt. On receiving this sentence, Straiton applied to the King, who was present, for mercy, and would have obtained it, but for the interposition of the clergy, who declared it to be incompetent for him to pardon those who were already condemned by the law of the church. In the afternoon, therefore, of the same day, the 27th of August 1534, they were led out to Greenside, near Edinburgh, which, with the view of awing the surrounding country, had been appointed as the place of execution. On arriving here, they kneeled down and prayed, for some time, with great fervour. Straiton, addressing himself to the spectators, warmly exhorted them to lay aside their superstitious and idolatrous notions, and employ themselves in seeking after the true light of the Gospel. He would have said more, but was prevented by the officers in attendance. The sentence was then executed in all its horrors. The martyrs cheerfully yielded up their bodies to pain and death, commending their souls into the hands of their heavenly Father, and anticipating a blissful immortality through the merits of Jesus.

THOMAS FORREST AND OTHERS.

FOR about four years, after the fore-mentioned instance of martyrdom, the sword of persecution was happily sheathed: and it is but candid to suppose that the general horror and indignation which such instances excited, had caused in the minds of their abettors a reluctance to perpetrate them. But if such reluctance did exist, it was at length overcome. A convocation of Bishops met at Edinburgh, who, taking into consideration the decaying influence of the church, have perpetuated their memory, by the increased severity, against heretics, which they recommended and enforced. Several individuals were summoned before them. Of five men, chiefly priests, who, on this account it may be presumed, were the more rigorously treated, and who were tried, condemned and executed together, the most distinguished was, Thomas Forrest or Forret, Vicar of Dollar. Respecting this excellent man, history has transmitted to us the following particulars:—

He was of the house of Forrest or Forret, in Fife, and his father had been master-stabler to James IV. After acquiring the rudiments of grammar in Scotland, he was sent abroad by the kindness of a rich lady, and prosecuted his education at Cologne. Returning to his native country, he was admitted a canon regular, in the monastery of St. Colm's Inch. It happened that a dispute arose between the abbot and the canons, respecting the allowance due to them; and the latter got the book of foundation to examine into their rights. The abbot, with the view of inducing them to part with this book, gave them a volume of the works of Augustine, which happened to be in the monastery. This volume passing into the hands of Forrest, was the happy mean of enlightening his mind. "Oh! happy and blessed was that book to me," did he often say afterwards, "by which I came to the knowledge of the truth." After perusing it, he applied himself to the reading of the Scriptures. He was also the happy instrument of converting a number of the young canons. "But the old bottles," he used to say, meaning the older members of the order, "would not receive the new wine." The abbot frequently advised him to keep his mind to himself, else he would incur punishment. "I thank you, my lord," was his answer, "you are a friend to my body, but not to my soul." He was afterwards admitted to the vicarage of Dollar, in which situation he rendered himself obnoxious to his brethren, by his diligence in instructing his parishioners, and his benevolence in freeing them from oppressive exactions. When the agents of the Pope came into his bounds to sell indulgences, he thus addressed his people: "Parishioners, I am bound to speak the truth to you: this is but to deceive you. There is no pardon for our sins that can come to us either from the Pope or any other, but only by the blood of Christ." It was his custom to rise at six o'clock in the morning, and study till mid-day. He daily committed three chapters of the Bible to

memory, and repeated them to his servant at night. He also composed a short Catechism, probably intended by him for the use of his own people. These facts were communicated by his servant, Andrew Kirkie, in a letter to Mr. John Davidson, Minister of Prestonpans, and inserted by him in his account of Scottish Martyrs from which, as the book itself is now lost, they have been transmitted to us in Calderwood's history.

Such a man as they describe Forrest to have been, could not long escape the notice and hostility of his clerical superiors. He was successively summoned before the Bishops of Dunkeld and St. Andrews. To the former of these he was accused as "an heretic, and one that shewed the mysteries of the Scriptures, to the vulgar people, in their own language, so as to make the clergy detestable in their sight." And on being called before him, the following conversation took place:—

"My dear, dean Thomas," said the Bishop, "I love you well, and therefore I must give you my counsel how you shall rule and guide yourself. I am informed that you preach the epistle or gospel every Sunday to your parishioners, and that you take not the cow, nor the uppermost cloth, from your parishioners, which is very prejudicial to the churchmen; and, therefore, I would you took your cow, and your uppermost cloth, as other churchmen do, or else it is too much to preach every Sunday; for in so doing, you may make the people think that *we* should preach likewise. But it is enough for you, when you find any good epistle, or any good gospel, that setteth forth the rights of the holy church, to preach that and let the rest be."

Forrest answered, "My lord, I think that none of my parishioners will complain, that I take not the cow, nor the uppermost cloth, but will gladly give me the same, together with any other thing that they have; and I will give and communicate with them any thing that I have; and so, my lord, we agree right well, and there is no discord among us. And where your lordship saith, 'it is too much to preach every Sunday,' indeed I think it is too little, and also would wish that your lordship did the like."

"Nay, nay, dean Thomas," cried the Bishop, "let that be for we are not ordained to preach."

Then said Forrest, "Where your lordship biddeth me preach, when I find any good epistle, or good gospel; truly, my lord, I have read the New Testament and the Old, and all the epistles and gospels, and among them all I could never find an evil epistle, or an evil gospel; but if your lordship will show me the good epistle, and the good gospel, and the evil epistle, and the evil gospel, then I shall preach the good and omit the evil."

The Bishop replied, "*I thank God that I never knew what the Old and New Testament was*; therefore, dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my portuise and pontifical. Go your way, and let be all these fantasies, for if you persevere in these erroneous opinions, you will repent when you may not amend it."

Forrest said, "I trust my cause is just in the presence of God:

and, therefore, I heed not much what may follow thereupon;" and so he departed.

It was not long after this that he was summoned to appear before Archbishop Beaton, and the above-mentioned convocation; and after a short examination, he was condemned to be burnt as a heretic.

A similar doom was pronounced on the four individuals whom we have already referred to, as having suffered along with him. These were, by name, Keilor, Beveridge, Simson, and Forrester; and besides their names and their martyrdom, little is known respecting them. Keilor and Beveridge were friars, and the charge against the former of them was, his having, according to the custom of the times, composed a tragedy on the death of Christ, in which he portrayed, in a lively manner, the character and conduct of the Popish clergy, under that of the Jewish pharisees and high priests. This play was acted publicly at Stirling, the king himself being present, on a Good-friday morning; and so keen and cutting was the sarcasm it contained, that the Popish party gave themselves no rest till they had apprehended and condemned its author. With regard to Sir Duncan Simson, (so titled from his office,) he was, what was called, a secular priest. And as to Robert Forrester, he was a gentleman of respectability. On the 28th of February, 1538, the whole five were consumed in one fire on the Castle hill, at Edinburgh.

JEROME RUSSEL AND ALEXANDER KENNEDY.

THE rage for persecution which inflamed the ruling party in Scotland, at this period, was not confined in its effects to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh and St. Andrews. The year succeeding that to which the preceding sketch refers, is memorable for the trial, condemnation, and death of Jerome Russel and Alexander Kennedy. Of these two individuals some interesting particulars are recorded, which, though not amounting to a history of their lives, are worthy of a place in this collection.

Glasgow has the honour of having been the residence of these martyrs to the truth: at least it was the scene of their constancy and sufferings. Russel was of the order of grey friars, and is described by Knox as "a young man of meek nature, quick spirit, and good learning." Kennedy was a gentleman of liberal education, as it would appear, and of some genius for poetry; and at the time of his being called to account for his opinions, he had not passed the eighteenth year of his age. They had been apprehended and lodged in prison, for their heretical sentiments. At length the Bishop, willing to earn to himself the applause of zeal, and urged on by three individuals, devoted to the cause, who had been sent to assist him, had them brought before him for examination and trial. Many and grievous were the charges which were laid against them; and

impressed by the imposing display of judicial pomp, and by a fear that was natural, of those dreadful agonies to which at length he was doomed, Kennedy, with a weakness for which his tender years are a sufficient apology, was at first inclined to recant. His indecision, however, was only for a moment. For being on a sudden refreshed, as it would appear, by the strengthening and comforting influences of the Divine Spirit, he felt himself, as it were, a new creature; his mind was changed, his resolution fixed, and falling on his knees, he, with a glowing countenance, and in an animated tone of voice, thus expressed himself:—

“O eternal God! how wonderful is that love and mercy thou bearest unto mankind, and to me, a miserable wretch, above all others! for even now, when I would have denied thee, and thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, my only Saviour, and so have cast myself into everlasting damnation, thou, by thine own hand, hast pulled me from the very bottom of hell, and made me to feel that heavenly comfort which has taken from me that ungodly fear wherewith I was before oppressed. Now I defy death.” Then rising, he cried to his persecutors, “Do with me as you please; I praise God I am ready.”

Russel, who had arrived at a more mature age, and whose opinions it may be supposed, from his professional studies, were more the result of deliberation and inquiry, and consequently more firm and decided, behaved during the trial with great intrepidity. For a time he learnedly reasoned against his accusers, defending, by means of argument, the sentiments which he owned; and rebutting, with calmness and with dignity, the false charges preferred against him. But being roused to a higher state of feeling, by the opprobrious and irritating language which was poured forth against him, he at last addressed them in the following words:—“This is your hour and power of darkness; now ye sit as judges, and we stand wrongfully accused, and more wrongfully to be condemned; but the day will come when our innocence will appear, and ye shall see your own blindness, to your everlasting confusion! Go on, and fill the measure of your iniquity.”

Nor was it without effect that they thus conducted themselves on their trial. Their behaviour and protestations seemed to have made a deep impression on the mind of the Prelate. He frankly declared it to be his opinion, that such executions as had of late taken place, would injure the cause they were designed to promote; and in reference to the present instance he said, “I think it better to spare these men than to put them to death.” It would have been to his immortal honour if he had followed out, this judgment. His assistants, however, interfered. They had extinguished in their own breasts every feeling of mercy, and they threatened to hold him an enemy to the church, if he did not proceed. In a tone of offended dignity they exclaimed, “What will ye do, my Lord! Will ye condemn all that my Lord Cardinal, the other Bishops, and we ourselves, have done? If so, ye show yourself an enemy to the church,

and to us, and so we will repute you, be assured." The Bishop had not firmness to despise the threat. He tamely sacrificed his feelings of duty to the love of ease, of affluence, or of reputation; and the two interesting young men were condemned to the flames.

Being immediately given over to the secular power, they were, next day, led out to the place of execution. In their way to it, Russel observing some symptoms of timidity in the appearance of his fellow sufferer, thus addressed him:—"Brother, fear not; greater is he that is in us, than he that is in the world. The pain that we are to suffer is short, and shall be light; but our joy and consolation shall never have an end. Let us, therefore, strive to enter into our Master and Saviour's joy, by the same strait way which he hath taken before us. Death cannot hurt us, for it is already destroyed by him, for whose sake we are now going to suffer."

When they arrived at the fatal spot, they both kneeled down and prayed for some time: after which, being fastened to the stake, and the faggots lighted, they cheerfully resigned their souls into the hands of him who gave them, in full hopes of an everlasting reward in the heavenly mansions.



THE forementioned instance of martyrdom took place in the year 1539. In that year, Cardinal David Beaton having succeeded his uncle in the See of St. Andrews, began carefully to tread in the path which had been marked out to him. His first act was to cite before him, in a splendid convocation of nobles and clergy, assembled on purpose, Sir John Borthwick, accused of having read and circulated heretical books, and of having maintained doctrines subversive of the Romish church. But he being forewarned of his danger, fled out of the country, and took refuge in England, where he was kindly received. About this time also, Andrew Cunningham, son to the master of Glencairn, James Hamilton, brother to Patrick Hamilton, (now returned* from his exile,) and the celebrated George Buchanan, the historian, were severally apprehended and imprisoned on similar accusations; and if they had not found means to escape, must have perished in the flames.

But it was not till the end of the year 1543, according to some historians, or 1545, according to others, that the Cardinal's inveteracy against the reformers was displayed in its strongest colours. Accompanied by the Governor, he made a visitation of different parts of his diocese, and attempted to strike dread into all who were hostile to the Church. At Perth, many persons were apprehended and arraigned, among whom the following six were condemned and executed: William Anderson, Robert Lamb, James Finlayson, James Hunter, James Rawieson, and Helen Stark. The charges against the five men were as follows. Of the first four, one was accused for interrupting a friar while teaching that a man could

* See Note, p. 16.

not be saved without praying to the saints, the other three for having treated disrespectfully the image of a saint, and eaten flesh upon a day, on which the use of it was forbidden by the Pope. With respect to the fifth person above-named, his crime was adorning his house, in derision, as was supposed, with a wooden representation of the three-crowned diadem of St. Peter. And as to the woman, who was the wife of one of the four, she was condemned for having refused to invoke the Virgin Mary, affirming that she would pray to God alone, through Jesus Christ.

The four men were hanged upon one gibbet: the other, some days after, was burnt alive, and the woman, on the same occasion on which the four men were executed, was tied in a sack and drowned.

The circumstances of her death have been somewhat differently related. Some affirm that her infant perished with her, while others state her parting with it, as one of the most powerfully exciting causes of agitation and agony, in her last hour. The following, which we prefer, is the account of Dr. Cook, in his history of the Reformation. "The circumstances," says he, "attending the last scene of this unfortunate woman's life, must move every heart from which the best feelings of our nature have not been eradicated. Warmly attached to her husband, with whom she had enjoyed some years of uninterrupted domestic happiness, she implored that they might die together. This affecting request having been barbarously refused, she soothed, by the most impressive consolations, his departing moments; and after witnessing his execution, she prepared for her own. The tenderness of a parent agitated her mind. She entreated her neighbours to show humanity to her children; and to complete her anguish, she took from her bosom the infant whom she suckled, and gave it to the nurse whom she had provided. Yet all this did not overpower her fortitude, or shake her faith: she rose superior to her sufferings, and she died with courage and with comfort."*

Nor with these enormities, shocking as they were, which had thus marked the commencement of his progress, was the Cardinal satisfied. He, in addition, caused many individuals to be banished, and then proceeded, with his retinue, to visit the counties of Angus and Mearns. Multitudes in these counties were summoned before him, accused of faults equally trivial, or rather, of practices equally commendable, with those for which the preceding witnesses had testified and suffered. And though it does not appear that any capital punishments were inflicted, numbers had to consult their safety by flight, or were dragged from their families and their occupations to languish out their days in pitiless confinement.

Such are the principal facts which mark the history of persecution in Scotland, previous to the martyrdom of George Wishart. Besides these, there were many instances of arraignment, imprisonment, banishment, and confiscation, of which it were too tedious to relate the particulars.

* See History of the Reformation, Vol. I.



GEORGE WISHART.

GEORGE WISHART.

THIS gentleman was a brother of the Laird of Pittarrow,* in the County of Mearns, and was educated at the University of Cambridge, where his diligence and progress in useful learning, soon made him respected. From an ardent desire to promote the truth in his own country, he returned to it in the summer of 1544, and began teaching a school in the town of Montrose; which he kept for some time with great applause. He is in particular celebrated for his uncommon eloquence, and agreeable manner of communication. The sequel of this narrative will inform the reader, that he possessed an extraordinary degree of sagacious foresight,† and was at the same time humble, modest, charitable, and patient, even to admiration. One of his own scholars gives the following picture of him:—"He was a man of tall stature, black haired, long bearded, of a graceful personage, eloquent, courteous, ready to teach, and desirous to learn: he ordinarily wore a French cap, a frieze gown, plain black hose, white bands, and handcuffs; he frequently gave away several parts of his apparel to the poor; in his diet he was very moderate, eating only twice a-day, and fasting every fourth

* "John Wishart, the Laird of Pittarrow," says Dr. Cook, "some years after this, took an active part in promoting the Reformation; and it is probable, that the zeal in this cause, which the death of his brother had excited or strengthened, continued to distinguish the descendants of the family. Two or three years ago, when the old mansion-house of Pittarrow was pulled down, upon removing the wainscot from the great hall, there were discovered on the walls of the room, in a state of complete preservation, several beautiful paintings, of which no tradition remained. One, above the largest fire-place, represented the city of Rome, and a grand procession going to St. Peter's. The Pope, adorned with the Tiara and mounted on horseback, was attended by a large company of Cardinals on foot, richly dressed, but all uncovered. Beyond them was the Cathedral of St. Peter, the doors of which were open, and below the painting were five lines of Latin verse, which were probably, at the time the picture was executed, extensively circulated, and generally current among the Protestants, and which strongly show, that the possessors of the mansion in which it was found, had no partiality for the Pope, and attributed his exaltation to causes disgraceful to the occupiers of St. Peter's."—*Hist. of the Reformation*, Vol. I.

† In this, and similar instances, what we conceive a very proper alteration, is made in the text. The line in the preceding editions, reads thus:—"he possessed the spirit of prophecy in an extraordinary degree."

It was a prevalent opinion among the early reformers, that some of their most distinguished ministers possessed the spirit of prophecy; and the compiler of this work seems to have had no doubt of it. I question, however, if such an opinion can be maintained consistently with the perfection of the revelation, contained in the holy Scriptures. I do not believe that any of the worthies were prophets, farther than as students of the Bible, and observers of providence, they were able to point out beforehand what would be the consequence of some particular line of conduct. In short, I believe, what has been ascribed to the spirit of prophecy, was no more than sagacious foresight.

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day; and his lodging, bedding, and such other circumstances, were correspondent to the things already mentioned. But as these particulars are rather curious, than instructive, we shall proceed.

On leaving Montrose, he came to Dundee, where he acquired still greater fame by public lectures on the Epistle to the Romans, insomuch that the Romish clergy began to think seriously of the consequences which they saw would inevitably ensue, if he was suffered to go on, pulling down that fabric of superstition and idolatry, which they with so much pains had reared. They were especially chagrined at the reception he met with in Dundee, and immediately set about projecting his ruin. They therefore prevailed upon one Robert Mill, formerly a professor of, and a sufferer for the truth, but who had recanted, and was now a man of considerable influence and a Magistrate in that town, to give him a charge in the Queen and Governor's names, to trouble them no more with his preaching there. This commission was executed by Mill, one day, in public, just as Wishart had ended his sermon. Upon hearing it, he kept silence for a little, with his eyes turned towards heaven, and then casting them on the speaker and spectators, with a sorrowful countenance, he said, "God is my witness, that I never minded your trouble, but your comfort; yea, your trouble is more grievous unto me than it is unto yourselves; but sure I am, to reject the word of God, and drive away his messengers, is not the way to save you from trouble, but to bring you into it: When I am gone, God will send you messengers, who will not be afraid either of burning or banishment. I have, at the hazard of my life, remained among you, preaching the word of salvation: and now, since you yourselves refuse me, I must leave my innocence to be declared by God. If it be long well with you, I am not led by the Spirit of truth; and if unexpected trouble come upon you, remember this is the cause, and turn to God by repentance, for he is merciful." These words being pronounced, he came down from the pulpit, or preaching place. The Earl Mareschal, and some other noblemen who were present at the sermon, entreated him earnestly to go to the north with them; but he excused himself, and took journey to the west country, where he was gladly received by many.

Having come to the town of Ayr, he began to preach the Gospel, with great freedom and faithfulness. But Dunbar, the then Archbishop of Glasgow, being informed of the great concourse of people who crowded to his sermons, at the instigation of Cardinal Beaton, went to Ayr, with the resolution to apprehend him; but first took possession of the church, to prevent him from preaching in it. The news of this, brought Alexander, Earl of Glencairn, and some gentlemen of the neighbourhood, immediately, to town. They wished, and offered to put Wishart into the church, but he would not consent, saying, "that the Bishop's sermon would not do much hurt, and that, if they pleased, he would go to the market-cross;" which he accordingly did, and preached with such success, that several of his hearers, formerly enemies to the truth, were

converted on the occasion. During the time he was thus employed, the Bishop was haranguing some of his underlings and parasites in the church; and having no sermon to give them, he promised to be better provided against a future occasion, and speedily left the town.

Wishart continued with the gentlemen of Kyle, after the Archbishop's departure; and being desired to preach next Lord's day at the church of Mauchline, he went thither with that design; but the Sheriff of Ayr had, in the night time, put a garrison of soldiers into the church to keep him out. Hugh Campbell of Kinzeanleugh, with others in the parish, were exceedingly offended at this impiety, and would have entered the church by force; but Wishart would not suffer it, saying, "Brethren, it is the word of peace which I preach unto you; the blood of no man shall be shed for it, this day: Jesus Christ is as mighty in the fields as in the church, and he himself, while he lived in the flesh, preached often in the desert and upon the sea side, than in the temple of Jerusalem." Upon this, the people were appeased, and went with him to the edge of a moor, on the south-west of Mauchline, where having placed himself upon a ditch-dike, he preached to a great multitude. He continued speaking for more than three hours, God working wondrously by him; insomuch that Laurence Ranken, the Laird of Shield, a very profane person, was converted by his means. The tears ran from his eyes, to the astonishment of all present; and the whole of his after-life, witnessed that his profession was without hypocrisy. After this Wishart also preached with most remarkable success, at the church of Galston, and other places. And at this time, indeed, in this part of the country, it might be truly said, that "the harvest was GREAT, but the labourers were FEW."

After he had been about a month thus employed in Kyle, he was informed, that the plague had broke out in Dundee, the fourth day after he had left it; and that it still continued to rage in such a manner, that great numbers were swept off daily. This affected him so much, that he resolved to return to them, and accordingly, took leave of his friends in the west, who were filled with sorrow at his departure. The next day, after his arrival at Dundee, he caused intimation to be made that he would preach; and for that purpose, chose his station upon the head of the east gate; the infected persons standing without, and those that were whole, within. His text on this occasion, was Psalm cvii. 20. "He sent his word and healed them, and delivered them from their destruction." By this discourse, he so comforted the people, that they thought themselves happy in having such a preacher, and entreated him to remain with them while the plague continued. With this he complied, preaching often, and taking care that the poor should not want necessities more than the rich; in supplying them with which he exposed himself to the infection, even where it was most malignant, without reserve.

During all this time his sworn adversary, Cardinal Beaton, had his eye close upon him, and actually bribed Sir John Wighton, a priest, to assassinate him. He was to make his attempt as Wishart

came down from the preaching place, with the expectation of escaping among the crowd, after the deed was done. To effect this, he posted himself at the foot of the steps, with his gown loose, and a dagger under it in his hand. Upon his descent, Wishart looked sternly at the priest, asking him what he intended to do; and instantly seizing him by the hand which held the dagger, he took it from him. Upon this, having openly confessed his design, a tumult instantly ensued, and the sick without the gate, rushed in, crying to have the assassin delivered to them. Wishart, however, interposed, and defended him from their violence, telling them he had done no harm, and that such as injured him, he would regard as injuring himself; so the priest escaped with impunity.

The plague was now considerably abated, and he determined to pay a visit to the town of Montrose, intending to go from thence to Edinburgh, and meet the gentlemen of the west. While at Montrose, he administered the sacrament of our Lord's Supper, in both kinds of elements, and preached with success. Here also, and at this time, a very singular incident befell him, which must not be omitted. He received a letter, purporting to be directed to him from his intimate friend the Laird of Kinnier, acquainting him, that he had taken a sudden sickness, and requesting him to come to him with all diligence. Upon this, he immediately set out on his journey, attended by some honest friends in Montrose, who, out of affection, would accompany him part of the way. They had not travelled above a quarter of a mile, however, when all of a sudden he stopped, saying to the company, "I am forbidden by God to go this journey: will some of you be pleased to ride to yonder place (pointing with his finger to a little hill,) and see what you find, for I apprehend there is a plot against my life." He then turned back towards the town, and they, who went forward to the place, found about sixty horsemen ready to intercept him. By this the whole plot came to light; they perceived that the letter had been forged; and upon their telling him what they had seen, he replied, "I know that I shall end my life by the hands of that wicked man, (meaning the Cardinal,) but it will not be after this manner."

The time he had appointed for meeting the west country gentlemen at Edinburgh, drawing near, he undertook that journey, much against the inclination and advice of the Laird of Dun. The first night after his leaving Montrose, he lodged at Innergowrie, about two miles from Dundee, with one James Watson, a faithful friend, where, having gone to bed, he was observed to rise a little after midnight, and to go out into an adjacent garden, that he might give vent to his sighs and groans in solitude; and being secretly followed by two men, William Spalding and John Watson, they saw him prostrate himself upon the ground, weeping and making supplication for nearly an hour, and then return to his rest. As they lay in the same apartment with him, they took care to come back before him; and upon his entering into the room, they, as if ignorant of all that had past, asked him where he had been? But he made no answer, and they ceased their interrogatories. In the morning they asked him again, why he rose in the night, and

what was the cause of his sorrow? (for they told him all that they had seen him do). He answered with a dejected countenance, "I wish you had been in your beds, and it had been more profitable for you, for I was scarcely *well* occupied." But they praying him to satisfy their minds further, and to give them some comfort, he said, "I will tell you; I assuredly know my travail is nigh an end; therefore pray to God for me, that I may not shrink when the battle waxes hottest." —Hearing these words, they burst into tears, saying, that was but small comfort to them. To this he replied, "God will send you comfort after me; this realm shall be illuminated with the light of Christ's gospel, as clearly as any realm ever was since the days of the Apostles; the house of God shall be built in it; yea, it shall not lack (whatsoever, enemies shall devise to the contrary) the very copestone; neither shall this be long in doing, for there shall not many suffer after me. The glory of God shall appear, and truth shall once more triumph in despite of the devil; but, alas, if the people become unthankful, the plagues and punishments which shall follow will be fearful and terrible." Having thus expressed himself, he proceeded on his journey, and arrived in Leith about the 10th of December. Being disappointed of a meeting with the west country gentlemen, he kept himself retired for some days, and then becoming very uneasy and discouraged, and being asked the reason, he replied, "I have laboured to bring people out of darkness, but now I lurk as a man ashamed to show himself before men." By this they understood that he desired to preach, and told him that they would gladly hear him; but the danger into which he would throw himself thereby prevented them from advising him to it. He answered, "If you and others will hear me next Sabbath I will preach in Leith, let God provide for me as best pleaseth himself:" which he did upon the parable of the sower, Matth. xiii. After sermon, his friends advised him to leave Leith, because the Regent and Cardinal were soon to be in Edinburgh, and his situation would be dangerous on that account. He complied with this advice, and resided with the Lairds of Brunston, Zongniddry, and Ormiston, by turns. The following Sabbath, he preached at Inveresk, both fore and afternoon, to a crowded audience. Among others who were present was Sir George Douglas, who after sermon publicly said, "I know that the Governor and Cardinal will hear that I have been at the preaching. (for they were now come to Edinburgh:) Say unto them that I will avow it, and will not only maintain the doctrine which I have heard, but also the person of the teacher, to the uttermost of my power." This open and candid declaration was very grateful to the whole congregation. During the time of this sermon, Wishart perceiving two grey friars standing in the door of the church, and whispering to every person that entered, called out to the people to make room for them, because said he, "perhaps they come to learn;" and then requested them to come forward and hear the word of truth. But as they still continued to trouble the people, he reproved them in the following manner: "O! ye servants of Satan, and deceivers of the souls of men, will ye neither hear God's truth, nor suffer others to hear it? Depart, and take this for your portion:

God shall shortly confound and disclose your hypocrisy within this realm; ye shall be abominable unto men, and your places and habitations shall be desolate."

The two Sabbaths following, he preached at Tranent, intimating, as he had in all his sermons since leaving Montrose, that his ministry was near an end. He next preached at Haddington, where his congregation was at first very throng, but the following day he was attended by very few. This was owing to the influence of the Earl of Bothwell, whose authority in that district of the country, was great, and who, at the instigation of the Cardinal, had inhibited the people from attending him. At this time, he received a letter from the gentlemen of the west, declaring, that they could not keep the diet appointed at Edinburgh. This, with the reflection that so few attended his ministrations at Haddington, grieved him exceedingly. He called upon Mr. Knox, who then was with him, and told him, that he was weary of the world, since he perceived that men were become weary of God. But notwithstanding the anxiety and discouragement under which he laboured, he went immediately to the pulpit; and, sharply rebuking the people for their neglect of the Gospel, he told them, "That sore and fearful should be the plagues that should ensue; that fire and sword should waste them; that strangers should possess their houses, and chase them from their habitations;" a prediction which was verified, when the English took and possessed that town, in the year 1548. This was the last sermon which he preached. In it, as had for some time been usual with him, he spoke of his death as near at hand; and after it was over, he bade his acquaintance farewell, as if it had been for ever. He went to Ormiston, accompanied by the proprietor, by the Laird of Brunston, and by Sir John Sandilands, younger of Calder. Knox also was desirous to have gone with him; but Wishart requested him to return, saying, "One is enough for a sacrifice at this time."

Being come to Ormiston, he entered into some spiritual conversation with the family, particularly concerning the happy state of God's children after death; appointed the 51st psalm, according to an old version then in use, to be sung; and then commended the company to God. He went to bed some time sooner than ordinary. About midnight, the house was completely surrounded; and the Earl of Bothwell calling upon the Laird, declared to him the purpose of their coming, entreated him not to hold out, and told him it would be to no purpose, since the Cardinal and Governor were coming up with all their train, at the same time, promising upon his honour, that if he would deliver Mr. Wishart, no evil should befall him. Being induced by this assurance, and consulting with Wishart, who had already requested that the gates should be opened, saying, "God's will be done," the Laird complied. Bothwell, attended by some gentlemen, then entered, and solemnly protested, that Mr. Wishart should receive no harm; but that he would either carry him to his own house, or restore him again to Ormiston, in safety. Upon this promise, hands were stricken, and Wishart went along with him to Elphinston, where the Cardinal was; after which he was first carried to

Edinburgh, and then, perhaps, upon pretence of fulfilling the engagement which Bothwell had come under, to the Earl's house. Afterwards, he was re-conducted to Edinburgh, where the Cardinal had assembled a convocation of prelates, for reforming abuses.

At Edinburgh, he remained only a few days, until the blood-thirsty Cardinal prevailed with the Governor to deliver him up to his tyranny; and he was accordingly removed to St Andrews. Here, without delay, the Cardinal determined to proceed with the trial; and by advice of the Archbishop of Glasgow, he with this view, demanded the assistance of a civil judge. This demand, however, the Regent refused, or at least delayed, to comply with, at the remonstrance of Hamilton of Preston, one of his counsellors, who boldly represented the cruelty and danger of thus persecuting the servants of God, and putting to death men, who had no other crime laid to their charge, but that of preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ.* On receiving this disappointment, which he could ill bear, he broke out into a violent rage, and immediately declared, that he had only sent to the Regent out of mere civility, and without any necessity; for that he, with his clergy, had power sufficient to bring Wishart to condign punishment.†—Thus was this servant of God

* This remonstrance was much to the honour of Hamilton; and the Regent did himself honour by yielding to it. Preaching the gospel of Christ was certainly no crime, in the proper sense of the word: but in the estimation of Churchmen at the time, there was no greater crime of which a man could be guilty. The fact is, the Church of Rome had made a caricature image of Christianity, under which the gospel of Christ was as effectually concealed as if it had never been promulgated. Implicit belief in what the Church was pleased to inculcate was put in the place of faith in Christ. Submission to the church was substituted for submission to the righteousness of God. The doctrine of Christ crucified was supplied by a material image of the cross. Repentance towards God gave place to works of penance and mortification. Purity, or holiness of life, was supplied by a robe of white linen: and poor sinners, instead of being taught to apply to God for pardon and eternal life through the blood of the atonement, were required to confess their sins to a fellow creature of a priest, and confide in his absolution, and ghostly direction, for their eternal salvation. These delusions had a firm hold of the consciences of the people. By means of which the priests ruled over them, and pillaged them at their pleasure. While these priests bare rule in Scotland, it would appear the greatest of all crimes to deceive the populace. Of such a crime Hamilton and Wishart, and others had been notoriously guilty. There was therefore no security for them. Nothing but their blood would satisfy their adversaries, who belonged to that meretricious mystical personage, who is represented as drunken with the blood of the saints and of the martyrs of Jesus.

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† Whether this was the case or not according to the laws which then prevailed in Scotland, may be made a question. If we are to judge from the instances of Hamilton and Mill (pp. 15 and 42) we must conclude that the interposition of a secular judge was necessary, and that therefore the cardinal, as such, had *not* power, that is to say, authority to condemn Wishart. But alas! in those days it too often happened that those who had the *power* assumed the *authority*, of their own accord.

left in the hands of that proud and merciless tyrant, the religious part of the nation loudly complaining of the Governor's weakness.

A meeting of the bishops and superior clergy being formally called on the 27th of February, 1546, every thing was arranged for the trial. Next day, Wishart received a summons, to appear on the morrow before his judges, to answer for his heretical doctrine. The morrow being come, the Cardinal proceeded to the place of judgment, in the Abbey church, with a train of armed men, marching in warlike order; and immediately Wishart was sent for from the sea-tower, which was his prison. Being about to enter the door of the church, a poor man asked alms of him, to whom he threw his purse. When he came before the Cardinal, John Winram, the sub-prior according to appointment, went up into the pulpit, and made a discourse upon the nature of heresy, from Matth. xiii. This he did with great caution, but yet in such a way as applied more justly to the accusers, than the accused; for he was a secret favourer of the truth. After him came up one Lauder, a most virulent enemy of religion, who acted the part of Wishart's accuser. He pulled out a long roll of maledictory charges, and dealt out the Romish thunder so liberally, that he terrified the ignorant by-standers, but did not in the least discompose this meek servant of Christ. He charged him with disobedience to the Governor's authority; with teaching that man has no free-will; and with contemning fastings; all which charges he absolutely refused. He was then accused of denying that there are seven sacraments; that auricular confession, extreme unction, and the sacrament of the altar, so called, are sacraments; or that we should pray to saints; and of saying, that it was necessary for every man to know and understand his baptism; that the Pope has no more power than another man; that it is as lawful to eat flesh upon Friday as upon Sunday; that there is no purgatory; and that it is in vain to build costly churches to the honour of God; and also of having condemned conjugation, the vows of single life, the cursings of the holy church, &c. In reading these accusations, Lauder put himself into a most violent sweat, and was seen frothing at the mouth; at length calling Wishart a runagate traitor, he demanded an answer. This he gave in a short and modest oration; at which they cried out with one consent against him in a most tumultuous manner. Perceiving, therefore, that, in spite of all reason, they were resolved to proceed against him to the uttermost extremity, he appealed to a more equitable and impartial tribunal. This gave Lauder an opportunity of flattering the Cardinal; and after enumerating his several splendid titles, he asked, with an air of triumph, "If my Lord Cardinal was not an equitable judge?" Wishart replied, "I do not refuse him, but I desire the word of God to be my judge, and the Temporal Estates, with some of your Lordships; because I am my Lord Governor's prisoner." After some scornful language thrown out both against him and the Governor, they proceeded to read the articles a second time, and hear his answers; which he made with great solidity of judgment. They then decided that he should be burnt as a heretic, paying no regard

to his defences, nor to the dictates of their own consciences, but thinking, that "by killing him they should do God service." Upon this resolution, (for the final sentence was not yet pronounced,) Wishart kneeled down and prayed in the following manner: "O, immortal God, how long wilt thou suffer the rage of the ungodly! how long shall they exercise their fury upon thy servants who further thy word in this world, seeing they desire to choke and destroy thy true doctrine and verity, by which thou hast showed thyself unto the world, which was drowned in blindness and ignorance of thy name! O Lord, we know surely that thy true servants must suffer, for thy name's sake, persecution, affliction and troubles, in this present life, which is but a shadow, as thy prophets and apostles have showed us; but yet we desire, merciful Father, that thou wouldst preserve, defend, and help thy congregation, which thou hast chosen from before the foundation of the world, and give them grace to hear thy word, and to be thy true servants in this present life."

After this, the common people were removed until the definitive sentence should be pronounced, which, being so similar to Hamilton's, need not be inserted. This being done, he was re-committed to the castle for that night. In his way thither, two friars came to him, requiring him to make his confession to them, which he refused; but desired them to send to him Wiuram, who had preached that day; who when he came, after some discourse with Wishart, asked him, if he would receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper; Wishart answered, "Most willingly, if I may have it administered according to Christ's institution, in both kinds, of bread and wine." The sub-prior then went to the bishops, and asked, if they would permit the sacrament to be given to the prisoner; but the Cardinal, in all their names answered, that, it was not reasonable to give any spiritual benefit to an obstinate heretic, condemned by the Church.

All this night, Wishart spent in prayer. Next morning, the captain of the castle gave him notice, that they had denied him the sacrament, and at the same time invited him to breakfast with him. Wishart accepted the invitation, saying, "I will do that very willingly, and so much the rather, because I perceive you to be a good Christian, and a man fearing God." All things being ready, and the family assembled to breakfast, Wishart turning himself to the captain, said, "I beseech you, in the name of God, and for the love you bear to our Saviour, Jesus Christ, to be silent a little while, till I have made a short exhortation, and blessed this bread we are to eat, so that I may bid you farewell." The table being covered, and bread set upon it, he spake about the space of half an hour, of the institution of the supper, and of our Saviour's death and passion, exhorting those who were present to mutual love and holiness of life. Then giving thanks, he brake the bread, distributing a part or it to those of the company who were disposed to communicate, entreating them to remember that Christ died for them, and to feed on it spiritually; then, taking the cup, he bade them remember that

Christ's blood was shed for them, and having tasted it himself, he delivered it unto them. Then, concluding with thanksgiving and prayer, he told them, "that he would neither eat nor drink more in this life," and retired to his chamber.

Soon after, by the appointment of the Cardinal, two executioners came to him, and arraying him in a black linen coat, they fastened some bags of gunpowder about him, put a rope about his neck, and a chain about his waist, and bound his hands behind his back; and in this dress they led him to the stake, near the Cardinal's palace; having placed opposite to it the great guns of the castle, lest any should attempt to rescue him. The fore-tower, which was immediately opposite to the fire, was hung with tapestry, and rich cushions were laid in the windows, for the ease of the Cardinal and prelates, while they beheld the spectacle. As the martyr proceeded to the stake, it is said that two beggars asked alms of him, and that he replied, "I want my hands wherewith I used to give you alms: but the merciful Lord vouchsafe to give you all necessities both for soul and body." After this, the friars came about him, urging him to *pray to our Lady*, &c. to whom he said, "Cease, tempt me not, I entreat you."

Having mounted a scaffold prepared on purpose, he turned towards the people, and declared, that he felt much joy within himself in offering up his life for the name of Christ. He told them, that they ought not to be offended with the good word of God, because of the afflictions he endured, or the torments which they now saw prepared for him; but "I entreat you," said he, "that you love the word of God for your salvation, and suffer patiently and with a cheerful heart for the word's sake, which is your everlasting comfort. For the true Gospel, which was given me by the grace of God, I suffer this day with a glad heart. Behold and consider my visage, ye shall not see me change my colour; I fear not this fire, and I pray that you may not fear them that slay the body, but have no power to slay the soul. Some have said, I taught that the soul shall sleep till the last day; but I know surely, and my faith is, that my soul shall sup with my Saviour this night." He then prayed for his accusers, that they might be forgiven, if, through ignorance or evil design, they had forged lies upon him. After this, the executioner asked his forgiveness; to whom he replied, "Come hither to me:" and when he came, he kissed his cheek, and said, "Lo, here is a token that I forgive thee, do thine office." Being raised up from his knees, he was bound to the stake, crying with a loud voice, "O Saviour of the world, have mercy upon me! Father in heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands!" The executioner then kindled the fire, and the powder that was fastened to his body blew up. The captain of the castle, perceiving that he was still alive, drew near, and bid him be of good courage: whereupon Wishart said, "This flame hath scorched my body; yet it hath not daunted my spirit: but he who, from yonder place, beholdeth us with such pride, shall, within a few days, lie in the same, as ig-

nominiously as he is now seen proudly to rest himself."* But, as he was thus speaking, the executioner drew the cord that was about his neck so strait, that he spoke no more; and thus, like another Elijah, he took his flight by a fiery chariot into heaven, and obtained the martyr's crown. This was on the first day of March, 1546.

Thus lived, and thus died, this faithful witness of Jesus Christ. He was early marked out as a sacrifice by Papal tyranny. Being delated to the Bishop of Brechin for a heretic, because he taught the Greek New Testament to his scholars, while he kept school at Montrose; he was summoned to appear before him, but escaped into England. Having completed his education at the university of Cambridge, he returned, as we have seen, to his native land. During the short period he was permitted to survive, he was hunted like "a partridge on the mountains," in daily alarm and danger from the wiles of his enemies. But amidst all his sufferings, his meekness and patience never failed him. He still maintained the character and the deportment of an eminent saint and servant of Jesus Christ.

The Popish clergy rejoiced at his death, and extolled the Cardinal's courage, for proceeding in it without the Governor's order; but the people on the contrary regarded him as both a prophet and a martyr. It was also said, that, abstractly from the grounds of his suffering, his execution was no less than murder, in that no writ was obtained for it, and the clergy could not burn any without a warrant from the secular power.† This roused Norman and John Leslie, of the family of Rothes, William Kirkaldie of Grange, James Melvill of the family of Carnbee, Peter Carmichael, and others, to avenge his death. Accordingly, upon the 28th of May, 1546, not three months after Wishart suffered, they surprised the castle early in the morning, and having either secured or turned out the persons that were lodged in it, they came to the Cardinal's door. He was by this time alarmed, and had secured it; but upon their threatening to employ force, he opened it, (relying, for safety, partly on the sanctity of his office, and partly on his acquaintance with some of them,) crying, "I am a priest, I am a priest." But this had no effect

* This, I believe, is one of the best authenticated instances of what has been called prophecy, by any of our Worthies; and yet the words themselves, supposing them to be verbatim as uttered by the dying martyr, do not necessarily imply more, than that, in a few days, the proud Cardinal should lie a corpse in his own palace; and by a few days, he might mean the remaining period of his life, which, however protracted, would appear but a few days to a man passing into eternity. It happened that, about three months thereafter, the Cardinal was murdered; and then, Wishart's words were considered prophetic of that event. I do not believe, and would by no means insinuate, that he was privy to the conspiracy; but this is more probable than that he should be endowed with the spirit of prophecy for no conceivable purpose. It could not be to confirm the truth for which he died, for that is abundantly confirmed by the testimony of Christ and his Apostles, and to look for any new confirmation of it, is to doubt the sufficiency of the Scriptures.

W. M'G.

† This statement seems to accord with the doubt suggested in a preceding note, (p. 35,) as to the authority of the Cardinal to condemn Wishart without the presence and concurrence of a secular judge. We believe that what, in this instance, seems to have been the popular opinion, was quite correct.

upon them ; for James Melvill having exhorted him in a solemn manner to repentance, and having apprised him, that he was now to avenge Wishart's death, stabbed him twice or thrice ; which ended his wretched days. These persons, with some others who joined them, being assisted by England, held the castle for nearly two years. They had with them the Governor's eldest son, for he had been put under the Cardinal's care, and was in the castle at the time they surprised it. The castle was at last besieged by the French and surrendered upon having the lives that were in it, secured.

ADAM WALLACE.

FOR four years after the death of Wishart, the political troubles in which Scotland was involved, served to suspend the rage of persecution. During this period, the death of Beaton, and the events to which it immediately gave rise ; and more lately, the danger which threatened, and the loss which accrued, from Somerset's invasion, together with the interest excited, and the measures adopted, in relation to the projected marriage of the young Queen, were sufficient to engage the attention and the industry, of the rulers in Church and State.

In the year 1550, however, the peace which was agreed upon between France and England, in which Scotland also was included, allowed them leisure and opportunity, to prosecute their schemes of domestic policy. The clergy renewed their attack against the reformed doctrines, and had again recourse to that barbarous violence which already had so often triumphed in the blood of martyrs. The Regent gave them his decided support. He was completely under the direction of his natural brother, now Archbishop of St. Andrews, who was no less rigid as a papist, and zealous as a persecutor, than the Cardinal, whom he succeeded.

He had already signalized himself in this capacity, by the imprisonment of many on account of their opinions, some of whom recanted, and others were banished forth of the kingdom. The first against whom his intolerance was prosecuted to a fatal issue, was Adam Wallace, a man of a comparatively humble station in life, belonging to Winton in East Lothian. It might have been expected, indeed, that such an individual would have escaped his notice, especially considering the many more eminent professors of the reformed tenets, who were now every where to be found. Though, however, of simple manners, and without great learning, he is described as having been " zealous in godliness, and of upright life," and as having spent much of his time, in spreading, amongst his fellow-men, the knowledge of the Gospel. And what perhaps, more especially, drew upon him the observation of the clergy, was that he himself frequented the company of Lady Ormiston, and that his wife, being employed as tutoress to some of her children, had instructed them in the principles of the reformed religion. But, however it might be, having attracted

the notice of some popish zealots, an information was laid against him for heresy, on which he was apprehended, and committed to prison. A few days after, he was brought before a diet, consisting of the Archbishop and several other Prelates, the Governor, the Earls of Huntly, Angus, Glencairn, Argyll, and other noblemen, which assembled in the church of the Black Friars, at Edinburgh, when three separate articles were exhibited against him. The following is a short detail of his trial:—

The first accusation against him was, "That he had said and taught, that the bread and wine on the altar, after the words of consecration, were not the real body and blood of Christ." To this he replied, "I never said, or taught any thing but what I found in this book," (pointing to a bible that hung by his side,) "which contains the word of God. From this I am informed, (as you may likewise be) that after our Lord had eaten the paschal lamb, at his last supper with his apostles, and fulfilled the ceremonies of the old law, he instituted a new sacrament, in remembrance of his death, then to come. He took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, 'Take, eat; this is my body.' And he took the cup and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, 'Drink ye all of it: for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for the remission of the sins of many. As oft as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me.'"

The Earl of Huntly then addressing him, said, "Thou answerest not to that which is laid against thee; say either yes or no." To this he replied, "If ye will admit God, and his word, spoken by his blessed Son, ye will admit what I have said; for I have said and taught nothing but what the word, which is the trial and touchstone, saith, and which ought to be judge to me, and all the world."

"Why," said the Earl, "hast thou not a good judge here? And thinkest thou that we know not God and his word? Answer to the accusation laid against thee." "I never taught," replied Wallace, "more than the writ saith; nor yet more than I have before said. I know well what St. Paul meaneth, when he saith, 'Whosoever eateth this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, receiveth to himself damnation.' Therefore, when I taught (which was but seldom, and to those only who required it of me) I said, that if the sacrament of the altar were truly ministered and used, as the Son of the living God instituted it; where that was done, there was God himself, by his Divine power."

The bishop of Orkney then asked him, "If he believed that the bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, were the very body of God, flesh and blood?" To this he replied, "I believe that the Son of God was conceived of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary; that he had a natural body, with hands, feet, and other members, and that he walked about in the world preaching to the people: that he suffered death under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried; and that, by his Godly power, he raised that same body again the third day; that he afterwards ascended into heaven, where he sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead."

He then quoted several texts of Scripture, tending to prove the absurdity of the popish doctrine; which not being agreeable to his judges, they desisted from asking any farther questions relative to the first article; and therefore proceeded to state the second, which was, "That he had said, and openly taught, that the mass was very idolatry, and an abomination in the sight of God."

To this he replied, that he had read the Bible in three different tongues, and never met with the word mass in either; therefore he thought it idolatry, and an abomination in the sight of God."

The third accusation was, "That he had said, and openly taught, that the God which was worshipped by the members of the holy mother-church, was but bread made from corn growing on the earth, and that it was brought to the form in which it was used by the hands of men." In answer to this, he said, "I worship the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons in one Godhead, which made and fashioned the heaven and earth, and all that is therein. I know of no other God, and him only will I worship so long as I live."

The archbishop, after telling him he had been guilty of many other errors, which he should pass over, asked him whether he granted the articles propounded. To which, he answered in the affirmative.

He then pronounced sentence of death on him as a heretic; and he was immediately delivered over to the secular power, for execution. It is here but right to mention, however, that whilst the other noblemen present acquiesced in, and even abetted these cruel proceedings, the Earl of Glencairn, with an honesty and magnanimity which are worthy of praise, solemnly protested against Wallace's condemnation.

In the evening of the same day, Wallace was visited by several Romish priests, who endeavoured to prevail on him to recant; but he kept so stedfastly to the faith he professed, and used such forcible arguments in its vindication, that they left him with some wrath, saying, "he was too abandoned to receive any impression."

The next morning, he was conducted to the Castle-Hill at Edinburgh, when, being chained to the stake, and the faggots lighted, he cheerfully resigned his soul into the hands of him who gave it, in full assurance of receiving that "crown of glory which shall never fade away."*

WALTER MILL.

WALTER MILL was born about the year 1476. He was educated in the Popish religion, and became priest of Lunan in the shire

* "He spent the night preceding his execution," says Dr. Cook, "in exercises of piety; and having been prevented from addressing the people who had assembled to witness his death, he submitted to his dismal fate, with a degree of patience and tranquil resignation, which at all times must have made a deep impression upon men not callous to humanity, but which, in the state of opinion at this period, were regarded with an enthusiasm, confirming attachment to the new doctrines and strengthening the horror with which the abettors of such cruelty had long been regarded." See Hist. of Reform. Vol. I.

of Angus. Having left off the practice of saying mass, he was condemned on that account, by Cardinal Beaton, so early as the year 1538; but escaped the flames by flying into Germany. Here he married, remained for some time, and was more perfectly instructed in the true faith. Afterwards he returned home, and keeping himself as retired as possible, during the rest of his life, went about reproving vice, and instructing the people in the grounds of religion. This at length coming to the ears of the clergy, he was, in 1558, by their order, apprehended at Dysart, in the shire of Fife, and imprisoned in the Castle of St. Andrews, where, both by threatening and flattery, they laboured with him to recant, offering him a place in the Abbey of Dunfermline all the days of his life, if he would deny what he had taught. Continuing constant, however, in his opinions, he was brought to trial before the bishops of St. Andrews, Murray, Brechin, Caithness, &c. who were assembled in the cathedral of St. Andrews.—When he came to make his defence, he was so old, feeble, and exhausted, that it was feared none would hear him; but as soon as he began to speak, he surprised them all; his voice making the church to ring, and his quickness and courage astonishing his very enemies.

At first he kneeled and prayed for some time; upon which, Sir Andrew Oliphant, a priest, called to him to arise, and answer to the articles of charge; saying, “You keep my Lord of St. Andrews too long here.” But he, nevertheless, continued in prayer: and when he arose, said, “I ought to obey God more than man. I serve a mightier Lord than your Lord is. And whereas *ye* call me *Sir Walter*, my name is *Walter*; I have been too long one of the Pope’s knights.—Now say what you have to say.” The examination then proceeded as follows:—

Oliph. Thou sayest there are not seven sacraments?—*Mill.* Give me the Lord’s Supper and Baptism, and take you, all the rest.—

Oliph. What think you of a priest’s marriage?—*Mill.* I think it a blessed bond ordained by God, and approved by Christ, and free to all sorts of men; but *ye* abhor it, and in the meanwhile, take other men’s wives and daughters: *ye* vow chastity, and keep it not.*—

Oliph. How sayest thou that the mass is idolatry?—*Mill.* A lord or king calleth many to dinner, they come and sit down, but the lord himself turneth his back and eateth up all; and so do you.—

Oliph. Thou deniest the sacrament of the altar to be the real body of Christ in flesh and blood?—*Mill.* The Scriptures are to be understood spiritually, and not carnally, and so your mass is wrong, for Christ was once offered on the cross for sin, and will never be offered again, for then he put an end to all sacrifice.—*Oliph.* Thou

* The fact here asserted, is denied by modern Papists, who boast of the spotless purity of their clergy in all ages. In Protestant countries, they cannot be so licentious as they were generally before the Reformation; because the improved state of society would not admit of it. When this aged priest accused them of their wickedness to their faces, they did not attempt to deny it; but instantly changed the subject.

deniest the office of a bishop?—*Mill*. I affirm that those you call bishops, do no bishop's work, but live after sensual pleasure, taking no care of Christ's flock, nor regarding his word.—*Olyph*. Thou speakest against pilgrimage, and sayest, it is a pilgrimage to whoredom?—*Mill*. I say pilgrimage is not commanded in Scripture, and that there is no greater whoredom in any place, except in brothel-houses.—*Olyph*. You preach privately in houses, and sometimes in the field?—*Mill*. Yea, and on the sea also, when sailing in a ship.

"Then," said Olyphant, "If you will not recant, I will pronounce sentence against you!"

To this he replied, "I know I must die once; and therefore, as Christ said to Judas, *What thou doest, do quickly*: You shall know, that I will not recant the truth; for I am corn, and not chaff: I will neither be blown away by the wind, nor burst with the flail, but will abide both."

Olyphant, as the mouth of the court, then pronounced sentence against him, ordaining him to be delivered to the temporal judge, and burnt as a heretic. But they could not procure a temporal judge to condemn him. Learmonth, then provost of the town, and baillie of the bishop's regality, refused to do so; and the people were so moved at the constancy of the sufferer, and offended at the wrong done to him, that they would not supply ropes to bind him, and other materials for his execution, so that his death was retarded a day longer. At last one Sommerville, a domestic of the Archbishop's, undertook to act the part of temporal judge, and the ropes of his master's pavilion were taken to serve the purpose of securing their victim.

All things being thus prepared, he was led forth by Sommerville, with a guard of armed men, to his execution. Being come to the place, some cried out to him to recant, to whom he answered, "I marvel at your rage, ye hypocrites, who do so cruelly pursue the servants of God! As for me, I am now eighty-two years old, and cannot live long by course of nature; but a hundred shall rise out of my ashes, who shall scatter you, ye hypocrites, and persecutors of God's people; and such of you as now think yourselves the best, shall not die such an honest death as I now do. I trust in God, I shall be the last who shall suffer death, in this fashion, for this cause, in this land." Thus his constancy increased, as his end drew near. Being ordered by Olyphant to go up to the stake, he refused, and said, "No, I will not go, except thou put me up with thy hand, for by the law of God, I am forbidden to put hands to myself; but if thou wilt put to thy hand, and take part of my death, thou shalt see me go up gladly." Then Olyphant putting him forward, he went up with a cheerful countenance, saying, *Introibo ad altare Dei*.* Having then requested permission to speak to the people: he was answered by Olyphant, "That he had spoken too much already, and that the bishops were exceedingly displeased with what he had said." But some youths having taken his part, and called to him to say on

* "I will go unto the altar of God."—*Psalms*.

what he pleased, he first went to his knees and prayed; then arose; and standing upon the coals, addressed the people to this effect: "Dear friends, the cause why I suffer this day, is not for any crime laid to my charge, though I acknowledge myself a miserable sinner before God; but only for the defence of the truths of Jesus Christ, set forth in the Old and New Testaments. I praise God that he hath called me, among the rest of his servants, to seal his truth with my life; and as I have received it of him, so I willingly offer it up for his glory. Therefore, as ye would escape eternal death, be no longer seduced by the lies of bishops, abbots, friars, monks, and the rest of that sect of Antichrist, but depend only upon Jesus Christ and his mercy, that so ye may be delivered from condemnation."—During this speech, loud murmurs and lamentations were heard among the multitude, some admiring the patience, boldness, and constancy of the martyr, others complaining of the hard measures and cruelty of his persecutors. Having spoken as above, he again prayed a little while, and was then drawn up, and bound to the stake. The fire being kindled, he cried, "Lord, have mercy on me: Pray, pray, good people, while there is time;" and thus cheerfully yielded up his soul into the hands of his God, on the 28th of April, 1558; being, as he himself said, in the eighty-second year of his age.

So much did his fortitude and constancy affect the people, that they heaped up a great pile of stones on the place where he was burned, that the memory of his death might be preserved; but the priests gave orders to have it taken down and carried away, denouncing a curse on any who should lay stones there again. This anathema, however, was so little regarded, that what was thrown down in the day-time, was raised again during the night, till at last the Papists carried away the stones to build houses about the town, which they did with all possible secrecy.

The death of this martyr brought about the downfall of Popery in Scotland; for the people in general, were so much inflamed, that, resolving openly to profess the truth, they bound themselves by promises, and subscriptions of oaths, that before they would be thus abused any longer, they would take up arms, and resist the Papal tyranny; which at last they were compelled to do before the Reformation was completely established.



JAMES STUART, EARL OF MORAY.

THIS nobleman was the natural son of King James V. and consequently, natural brother to Mary Queen of Scots. In his infancy, he was placed under the celebrated Buchanan, who instilled such principles into his mind, as, by the divine blessing, made him an honour to the Scottish nation.

He was the principal agent in promoting the work of reformation

from Popery. So early as the year 1555, he attended the preaching of John Knox at Calder, and expressed a wish that his doctrine and been more public; which was an open profession of his love and zeal for the true religion.

He went over to France, with some other noblemen, at the time of his sister's marriage with the Dauphin. Here some of his companions were supposed to have been poisoned, for they died suddenly: *He* escaped, however, by the interposition of a kind Providence, but retained a weak and disordered stomach all his life; yet this did not unfit him for those services which he afterwards did to religion and his country.

In the year 1556, he and Argyle wrote to Knox, then at Geneva, to return to Scotland, in order to further the reformation. Accordingly, after having been detained some time at Dieppe, Knox returned in the year 1559, and went to Perth, where the reforming congregation resorted to him. This coming to the ears of the Queen Regent, she sent the Earl of Argyle, and Lord James, (for that was Moray's title at the time,) together with Lord Scaple, to know the object of so great an assembly. Knox returned for answer, requesting them to tell her, "That they whom she persecuted were the servants of God, that her enterprise would not prosper in the end, seeing that she intended to fight against God, and that he was a more sure friend to her than they who flattered her." Upon this, she summoned them to depart from the town; but, afterwards, hearing of the daily increase of their numbers, she gave them leave to depart peaceably, with many fair promises that they should meet with no farther molestation. They accordingly obeyed, and left the town; but they had no sooner done so, then she, with her French guards entered it in a most outrageous manner, telling the inhabitants that no faith should be kept with heretics. This flagrant breach of promise provoked Lord James to such a degree, that he left the Queen and joined the Lords of the congregation, as they were henceforth called. The Queen having got intelligence of this, sent a threatening letter to him and Argyle, (for they stuck together on almost all occasions,) commanding them to return, but to no purpose, for they went to Fife, and there began to throw down and remove the monuments of idolatry: They continued here for some time, together with the forces which flocked to their standard; and after in vain attempting to procure a lasting and honourable peace with the Regent, they conducted the army of the congregation, and laid siege to the town of Perth. At length, having become masters of this important place, and being informed that the Queen intended to go to Stirling, in order to secure it by a garrison, they went off from Perth late in the night, and entering Stirling, with their associates, before her, they immediately demolished the monasteries, and purged the churches of idolatry. Such was the zeal of these worthy noblemen for the interest of the reformed religion in Scotland.

From Stirling they marched to Edinburgh, destroying the superstitious relics of idolatry in Linlithgow, by the way; and by these summary proceedings alarmed the Regent so much, that her zeal for

the Romish faith gave way to her fears about her civil authority. To make the conduct of these reformers odious to the unthinking part of the nation, she gave out that they were in open rebellion against her; that they made a pretence of religion, but that the real design was to set Lord James on the throne, there being, now, no male heir to the crown. But notwithstanding the industry, and even the success with which these reports were propagated, the Lords of the congregation having secured the capital, and having spent some time in fruitless negotiation, towards a peace with the Regent, who had retired to Dunbar, proceeded at length to establish the reformed worship in one of the churches. After this, being somewhat alarmed by her rapid and unexpected approach to Edinburgh, they prepared, with the utmost intrepidity, to oppose her progress; but a treaty being concluded, they forthwith retired to Stirling. Here they entered into a new bond, expressive of the suspicion which, perhaps on just grounds, they entertained of the Regent; a proceeding which again gave currency and colour to the insinuations which had been spread, as to the alleged ambitious and worldly nature of their designs. These insinuations she found means to transmit to Lord James himself, in a letter, said to be forged, in the names of Francis and Mary, the King and Queen of France, in which he was further upbraided with ingratitude for the favours which they pretended they had shown him, and entreated to lay down his arms, and return to his allegiance. To this letter, (notwithstanding there were strong reasons to suspect it was forged,) he returned a resolute answer, declaring that he was not conscious to himself either in word or deed, of any offence either against the Regent or the laws; but seeing the nobility had undertaken the reformation of religion, which had been long delayed, and seeing they aimed at nothing but the glory of God; he was willing to bear the reproach which the enemies of religion would load him with; nor would it be just in him to desert a cause which had Christ himself for its head and defender, seeing, unless they would voluntarily deny Him, they could not give up the enterprise in which they were embarked.

While these transactions were going forward, and the Lords of the Congregation had again come to Edinburgh, there were landed in Leith, at different times, to the number of 3000 French soldiers in support of the Regent; between whom and her opponents there were several skirmishes, though with little success on either side. The Lords, however, having again retired to Stirling, left the French, for a time indeed, masters of the field, but not without apprehensions of danger from the arrival of an English fleet, which was then expected. They accordingly went over to Fife, spreading devastation every where around them, without resistance; in reference to which the Queen Regent thus expressed herself: "Where is John Knox's God now? my God is stronger, even now in Fife." But this impious boast did not last long, for Argyle and Lord James went immediately to the town of Dysart, to stop their career along the coast. The French were 4000 strong, besides the Scots who

adhered to them ; the army of the congregation was not more than 600 in number, yet they behaved with such courage and resolution, as for twenty days successively to face their adversaries ; and for each man they lost in the skirmish, the French lost four. As an evidence of the uncommon attention which these two noblemen bestowed on this business, they never put off their clothes during the whole time, and slept but little. These events took place in the year 1559.

In the month of June, the following year, the Queen Regent, and a little after her, Francis King of France, died ; and thus, Scotland was delivered from the foreign troops. About this time, also, Lord James went over to France, to visit his sister Mary, after having settled the affairs of Scotland as well as he could. He was attended by a splendid retinue, but appears to have met with but a cold reception. After several conversations with the Queen, she told him, that she intended to return home. During his stay at Paris, he experienced many insults, on account of his known attachment to the reformed faith. A box, containing some valuables, was stolen from him ; several persons were hired to assassinate him in the street ; of this latter danger he was apprized by an old friend of his own, but not before he was almost involved in it, being surrounded by a rabble calling out, *Huguenot, Huguenot*, and throwing stones ; he, however, made his way through them on horseback. Soon after this, he left Paris, and returned in May 1561, with a commission from the Queen, appointing him Regent until her return, which was in August following ; when, as Knox expresses it, "Dolour and darkness came along with her ;" for though justice and equity were yet administered, and crimes were punished, because the administration of civil affairs was yet in the hands of Lord James, who, for his management of public concerns was beloved by all, yet upon the Queen's arrival, French levity and dissipation soon corrupted the court to a very great degree.

About this time, a band of moss-troopers broke in upon the borders of Scotland, committing very alarming depredations, by robbing and murdering all that came in their way. The Queen sent Lord James with a small force to oppose them, not with the intention that he might have an opportunity of acquiring military reputation, but to expose him to danger, that, if possible, she might get rid of him ; his popularity having made her uneasy, and his fidelity and boldness in reproving her faults, and withstanding her tyrannical measures, marking him out still more as the object of her hatred and disgust. But, contrary to the expectations of many, God so prospered him in this expedition, that in a short time, he brought twenty-eight ring-leaders of the band to public execution, and obliged the rest to give hostages for their better behaviour in time to come. Thus, having returned crowned with laurels, he was, immediately after, created Earl of Marr ; and in the February following, he was made Earl of Moray, with the universal approbation of all good men. Some thought this act of the Queen was intended by her to conciliate his

affections, and bring him over to her party. But undoubtedly, the honours it conferred, were, on his part, well merited.

About this time, he married a daughter of the Earl of Marischal, according to Knox; according to Buchanan, of the Earl of March. The marriage was celebrated publicly in the Church of Edinburgh. After the marriage was over, the preacher, who was Knox, said to him, "Sir, the Church of God hath received comfort by you, and by your labours unto this day; if you prove more faint therein afterward, it will be said that your wife hath changed your nature."

It may be observed, that, hitherto, the nobility appeared very much united in their measures for promoting the interest of religion. This, however, was soon at an end; for the noblemen at Court breaking out into factions; the general interest was, in some degree, lost sight of. The Earl of Bothwell, envying the prosperity of Moray, stirred up a feud between him and the Hamiltons. This increased to such a height, that they laid a plot against his life, which Bothwell took in hand to execute, while Moray was with the Queen, his sister, at Falkland. Meantime the Earl of Arran, detesting such a deed, sent a letter privately to Moray, discovering the whole conspiracy; and thus he escaped the meditated evil. Bothwell fled from justice into France; but his emissaries were not less active in his absence, than they had been, while he headed them in person. Another design was formed against the Earl's life, while he was with the Queen at Dunbarton. But this also proved ineffectual.

Soon after, the Queen received letters from the Pope, and her uncles, the Guises of France, requesting her to put the Earl out of the way, because they found by experience, that their interest in Scotland could not prosper while he was alive. Upon this, the faction against him became more insolent, and appeared in arms. They were at first suppressed but soon assembled again, to the number of eight hundred men, with the Earl of Huntly at their head. This nobleman, actuated not merely by hatred to Moray, but incensed by the Queen's refusal to pardon his son, who had been guilty of an assault on Lord Ogilvie, rose with his followers into open rebellion. Moray, who was then in the north with the Queen, immediately marched against them, and was obliged to face them, with little more force, in which he could confide, than a hundred cavalry; yet, notwithstanding this disparity, by the Divine blessing, he obtained a complete victory, killing of them a hundred and twenty, and taking a hundred prisoners, including Huntly and his two sons; and that too, it is said, without the loss of a single man! He returned late in the night, with the prisoners to Aberdeen, where he had appointed a minister of the Gospel to meet him, and had thanks returned to God for a deliverance, which exceeded the expectation of all men.

The Earl of Bothwell having returned from France, Moray accused him of his former treasonable practices, and commenced a process at law, against him. Bothwell could not stand an open scrutiny, but confidently relied upon the Queen's favour. This, he was aware, he possessed in a very high degree; and it seemed to in-

crease in nearly the same proportion as her enmity to Moray, on account of his popularity, was augmented. This led her to join the more warmly with Bothwell, in the conspiracy against his life. A new plot was the result of their joint deliberations, and was to be executed in the following manner: Moray was to be sent for, with only a few attendants, to meet with the Queen at Perth, where also Lord Darnley, then in suit to her for marriage, was at the time. They knew that Moray would speak his mind freely; from this a quarrel was to ensue; and in the heat of it, David Rizzio was to strike a blow, which all the rest were to follow up. But of this design also, he got previous intelligence by a friend at Court; nevertheless, he resolved to go, but being strongly advised to the contrary, he turned aside to his mother's house, and there stayed till the storm was over.

Foreseeing what would be the consequence of the Queen's marriage with Darnley, the Earl set himself resolutely to oppose it; but finding little attention paid to what he urged on the subject in the Convention of Estates, he chose rather to absent himself for some time; and accordingly retired to the border, where he remained until that event was consummated.

The deeply tragical incidents which succeeded, disgusted him more and more, at the Court. With these the public are well acquainted. The murder of Darnley, and Mary's after marriage with the assassin of her husband, has occasioned too much speculation of late years, not to be known to every one in the least acquainted with Scottish history. Moray now found it impossible to live at a Court where his implacable enemy was so highly honoured. Bothwell insulted him openly. He therefore, asked leave of the Queen to travel abroad; and she, being willing to get rid of him at all events, granted his desire, upon his promising not to make any stay in England. He went to France, and remained there, till he heard that she was in custody at Lochleven, and that Bothwell had fled to Denmark. He then returned home; and by the joint consent of the Queen and nobles, in 1567, was made Regent, during the young King's minority.

He entered on the exercise of his office as Regent, in the spring following, and resolved to make a tour through the whole kingdom, to settle the courts of justice, to repair wrongs, and to institute improvements. But his adversaries, the Hamiltons, perceiving that, by his prudence and diligence, the interests of religion would be revived, than which nothing could be more disagreeable to them, being dissipated and licentious to an extreme degree, never ceased crying out against his public administration. They fixed up labels in different places, full of dark insinuations, that his destruction was meditating. It was told him, he would not live beyond a certain day by which it appeared, there were designs formed against him. All this, however, had no effect upon his resolution; his common reply was, "That he must die one time or other, and that he could not part with his life more nobly, than by procuring the public tranquillity of his native country." Sir James Melvill, in his *Memoirs*, has in

deed insinuated, that Moray had reason, from his conduct, while Regent, to expect disaffection; and that though originally of a gentle nature, religiously educated, and wise and good, yet, when advanced to that high station, he became, by means of flatterers, proud and rough in his proceedings;* and that this, together with his remissness in his own preservation, contributed to his death. Knox and Buchanan, however, put a very different gloss upon the matter, and represent his character, both before and during his Regency, in a light the very opposite of this.

Among other measures, towards public improvement, he caused a convention of Estates to meet at Glasgow, for the redress of some grievances, which that part of the country particularly laboured under.† But while thus engaged, he received intelligence that the Queen had escaped from Lochleven castle, and was come to Hamilton, and that there her adherents were assembling with the utmost haste. Upon this, a warm dispute arose in the council, whether he and his attendants should repair to the young King at Stirling, or stay and observe the motions of the Queen and her party. But, in the very midst of these deliberations, being informed that a hundred chosen men had arrived in town from Lothian, and that many more from the adjacent country were approaching, it was resolved they

* Of the truth of this allegation, the reader may be allowed to judge for himself, after he has perused the following Note, which embodies the sentiments of a living author unquestionably of the highest authority on all topics relating to the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland.

† Though Moray was distinguished by his skill and bravery as a soldier, he was no less so as a civil magistrate, ever attentive to the municipal affairs of the Kingdom, and studious of what might tend to the comfort and personal security of all the subjects. "He united, in no ordinary degree, those qualities which are rarely combined in the same individual, and which make up the character of an accomplished prince. Excelling equally in the arts of war and peace, he reduced the country to universal obedience to the King's authority, by his military skill and valour, and preserved it in a state of tranquillity and order, by the wise and impartial administration of justice. Successful in all his warlike enterprises, he never once tarnished the laurels of victory, by cruelty or unnecessary rigour to the vanquished. He knew how to maintain the authority of the laws, and bridle the licentious, by salutary severity, and at the same time to temper the rigour of justice by the interposition of mercy. He used to sit personally in the courts of judicature, and exerted himself to obtain for all the subjects an easy and expeditious decision of litigated causes. His uncommon liberality to his friends, to the learned, and to his servants; and his unostentatious charity to the poor have been celebrated by one who had the best opportunities of becoming acquainted with them. (Buchanan, oper. p. 383. Rud.) Nor has the breath of calumny, which has laboured in many ways to blast his reputation, ever insinuated that he oppressed or burdened the public, during his regency, to enrich himself or family.' (*McCrie's Life of Knox.*) This picture, I believe, is strikingly just. The Original belonged to the bigotted, bloody, infatuated house of Stuart, not indeed in the line of lawful marriage; but he was almost the only one belonging to that race, from the days of James the first of Scotland, whom we can regard with respect.

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should stay where they were, refresh themselves for a day, and then march out and face the enemy.

The Queen's army, being 6500 strong, resolved to make their way by Glasgow, to lodge her in the castle of Dumbarton; and afterwards either to fight the Regent or protract the war at pleasure. The Regent, being let into this design of the enemy, drew his army, consisting in all of about 4000 men, out of the town, to observe which way they intended to pass. Having discovered that the Queen's army were passing along the south side of the river Clyde, Moray commanded the foot to pass the bridge, and the horse to ford the river, and marched out to a small village called Langside, upon the river Cart. He there took possession of a rising ground, before the enemy could well observe his intencion, and drew up in order of battle. The Earls of Morton, Semple, Hume and Patrick Lindsay, were placed on the right; the Earls of Marr, Glencairn, Monteith, with the citizens of Glasgow, were on the left, and the musqueteers in the valley below. The Queen's army approaching, a brisk but short engagement ensued. The Earl of Argyle, who was commander-in-chief, having fallen from his horse, the Queen's troops, soon began to give way, so that the Regent obtained a complete victory; but by his clement conduct, there was very little blood spilt, in the pursuit. The Queen, who all the while remained with some horse, at about the distance of a mile from the place of action, seeing the rout, escaped, and fled toward England. The Regent returned to Glasgow, and there offered public thanks to God for this happy deliverance from Popery and Papists, who had thus threatened to overturn the work of reformation in the land. The battle was fought upon the 13th of May, 1568.

After this, the Regent summoned a Parliament to meet at Edinburgh; which the Queen's party laboured to hinder with all their power. Mean-time, letters were received from the Queen of England, requiring them to put off the meeting of Parliament until she was made acquainted with the whole matter; for she could not, she said, overlook the affront which she alleged her kinswoman had received from her subjects.—The Parliament, however, assembled; and, after much reasoning, it was resolved, to send commissioners to England to vindicate their conduct. But none being willing to undertake the business, the Regent resolved upon going himself; and accordingly chose three gentlemen, two ministers, two lawyers, together with the celebrated George Buchanan, to accompany him; and, with a guard of a hundred horse, they set out, and arrived at York, the appointed place of conference, on the 4th of October. After several meetings with the English commissioners to little purpose, Elizabeth invited the Regent to London, that, by personal conversation with him, she might be better satisfied about the state of affairs in Scotland. But here the same difficulties stood in his way as at York; he refused to enter upon the accusation of his sister, the Queen of Scots, unless, provided she was found guilty, Elizabeth would engage to protect the King's party.

But while matters were thus remaining in suspense at London,

Mary had stirred up a new commotion in Scotland, by means of one of her agents, James Balfour; so that the Regent found himself exceedingly embarrassed, and therefore resolved to bring the matter to a conclusion, as soon as possible. After several interviews with the Queen and Council, in which he and his party supported the ancient rights of their country, and wiped off the aspersions which had been thrown on themselves, a decision was given in their favour: and the Regent returned home loaded with honours by Elizabeth, attended by the most illustrious of the English Court, and escorted by a strong guard to Berwick. He arrived at Edinburgh on the 2d of February, and was received, particularly by the friends of true religion, with acclamations of joy.

During his administration, many salutary laws were enacted, in favour of civil and religious liberty, which rendered him more and more the object of Popish malice. At last they resolved at all events to take away his life: the many unsuccessful attempts formerly made, having only served to render them more bold and daring. Though the Queen was now at a distance, she still found means to encourage her party: and perhaps the hope of at length delivering her, gave strength to their resolution. Accordingly, James Hamilton of Bothwell-haugh, nephew to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, incited by his uncle and others, undertook to make away with the Regent, when a convenient opportunity should offer. He first lay in wait for him at Glasgow, and then at Stirling; but both opportunities having failed him, he at length determined on Linlithgow, as the most proper place for perpetrating the execrable deed. His uncle had a house near the Regent's, in which he concealed himself that he might be in readiness. Of this design, also, the Regent had got intelligence, but paid not that regard to the danger he was exposed to, which he ought, and would go no other way than that in which it was suspected the ambush was laid. He trusted to the fleetness of his horse in riding past the suspected place; but the great concourse of people, who crowded together to see him, stopped up the way. This gave time to Hamilton to take his aim, which, from a wooden balcony that concealed him, he took, with fatal effect. The Regent was shot through the belly. The ball afterwards struck and killed the horse of Sir George Douglas beside him. The assassin immediately escaped by a back door. The Regent mentioned to his attendants that he was wounded, and returned to his lodgings. It was at first thought the wound was not mortal; but his pain increasing, he began to think of death. Some about him said, that this was the fruit of his lenity, in sparing so many notorious offenders, and among the rest his own murderer: but he replied, "*Your importunity shall not make me repent my clemency.*"—Having settled his private affairs, he committed the care of the young King to the nobles then present; and without speaking a reproachful word of any individual, he departed this life on the evening of Saturday the 23d of January, 1570, the same day on which he was wounded.

Thus fell the Earl of Moray, after he had escaped so many dan-

gers. He was certainly an able governor, and an estimable man. Both Buchanan and Spottiswood, though they differ in many things, have given him the highest character. "His death," says Buchanan, "was lamented by all good men, who loved him as the common father of his country: even his enemies confessed his merit when dead. They admired his valour in war, his ready disposition for peace, his activity in business, in which he was commonly very successful: the Divine favour seemed to shine on all his actions; he was merciful to offenders, and equitable in all his decisions. When the field did not call for his presence, he was busied in the administration of justice; by which means the poor were not oppressed, and the terms of lawsuits were shortened. His house was like a holy temple: after meals he caused a chapter of the Bible to be read, and asked the opinions of such learned men as were present, upon it; not out of vain curiosity, but from a desire to learn, and reduce to practice what it contained."* In a word, he was, both in his public and private life, a pattern worthy of imitation; and happy would it be for us, that our nobles were more disposed to walk in the paths in which he trode:—for, "above all his virtues," says Spottiswood, "which were not a few, he shone in piety towards God, ordering himself and his family in such a way, as did more resemble a church than a court; for therein, besides the exercise of devotion, which he never omitted, there was no wickedness to be seen, nay, not an unseemly or wanton word to be heard. He was a man truly good, and worthy to be ranked amongst the best governors that this kingdom has enjoyed, and therefore to this day is honoured with the title of **THE GOOD REGENT.**"†

JOHN KNOX.

JOHN KNOX was born at Gifford, near Haddington, in East Lothian, in the year 1505. His father was related to the ancient house of Ranferly, in the shire of Renfrew. On leaving the grammar school of Haddington, he was sent to the University of St. Andrews, to study under John Mair or Major, a man of considerable learning for his age; and had the degree of Master of Arts conferred upon him while very young.‡ He excelled in philosophy and

* Buchanan's Hist. Vol. II. p. 392 † Spottiswood's Hist. p. 234.

‡ In the records of the University of Glasgow, anno 1520, John Knox appears in the list of matriculated students, when, if it was our Reformer, he must have been fifteen years of age, a proper enough time for his appearing in that character; and this was probably an intermediate step, between his leaving the grammar school, and going to St. Andrews, for there is no doubt of his having studied there. His family seems to have come from Renfrewshire, and to have derived the name from the lands of Knock, in the parish of Kilbarchan.



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polemical divinity; and was admitted into holy orders before the usual period of life appointed by the canons of the Church. Then laying aside all unnecessary branches of learning, he betook himself to the reading of the Fathers, particularly the writings of Augustine and Jerome, with which he was much pleased. He also profited greatly by the preaching of Thomas Guiliam, a black friar, and a man of sound judgment and doctrine. By his discourses he was led to study the holy Scriptures more closely, and thus his spiritual knowledge was increased, and such a zeal for the interest of religion was begotten in him, that he became the chief instrument in accomplishing the Reformation from Popery.

He was also, as the reader may have seen in the account of Wishart's life, a disciple and friend of that celebrated martyr; a circumstance, that procured him the hatred of the Popish clergy, who could not endure that light which discovered their idolatrous darkness.

Upon the death of Cardinal Beaton, he went into the castle of St. Andrews, which was then held by a number of individuals who favoured the reformed opinions; and, during his confinement there, not only continued publicly to catechise the pupils entrusted to him, and in doing so to expound the Scriptures, to all who chose to attend; but was also, after some time, called to the office of minister, as colleague to Rough, who then statedly preached to the garrison. Here his labours were so successful, that, in a few months after, not the garrison only, but a great number of the inhabitants of St. Andrews, renounced Popery, and made a public profession of the Protestant faith, by receiving the Lord's supper, after the mode of the reformed churches. The castle being at length surrendered to the French, he became their prisoner, contrary to the stipulation entered into, and was sent, with the rest of his friends, aboard the galleys. From thence he was set at liberty, or made his escape, in the month of February, 1549; went to England, and preached for several years in Berwick, Newcastle, and London, with great applause. His fame at last reached the ears of King Edward VI. who first offered him the living of All-hallows and then a bishopric; both of which he rejected as inconsistent with his views of church government.

During his stay in England, and on the 14th of April, 1553, he was called before the Council, and required to answer the following questions:

“Why he refused the benefice provided for him at London?—Whether he thought that no Christian could lawfully serve in the ecclesiastical ministration, according to the laws and rites of that realm?—And if kneeling at the Lord's table was not indifferent?”

To the first he answered, that his conscience witnessed to him, he might profit the church more in some other place than in London. To the second, that many things needed reformation in the ministry of England, without which no minister did or could discharge his duty before God; for no minister had authority to prevent the unworthy from partaking of the sacrament, which was a chief part of his office and that he refused no office which might, in the least,

promote God's glory, and the spread of Christ's gospel. And to the third he replied, that Christ's action, at the communion, was most perfect; that it was most safe to follow his example; and that kneeling was a human invention. The answer which he gave to this question, occasioned a good deal of altercation betwixt the Council and him. There were present on the occasion, the Bishops of Canterbury and Ely, the Lord Treasurer, the Earls of Northampton, Shrewsbury, and Bedford, the Lords Chamberlain and Treasurer, and the Secretaries. After long reasoning with him, he was desired to take the matter into further consideration, and dismissed.

After the death of King Edward, he retired to Geneva, and applied himself to write his Admonition to England; but shortly after, he left that place, and went to Frankfort, upon the solicitation of the English congregation there. Their letter to him was dated 24th September 1554. In this situation he had not remained long, when he was involved in troubles and disputes, on account of his opposition to the English liturgy, and his refusing to dispense the communion after the manner it enjoined. Messrs. Isaac and Parry, supported by the English doctors, not only got him discharged from preaching, but accused him before the magistrates of high treason against the Emperor's son Philip, and the Queen of England; and to prove the charge, they had recourse to the above-mentioned Admonition, in which they alleged he had said the one was little inferior to Nero, and the other more cruel than Jezebel. But the magistrates perceiving the design of his accusers, and fearing lest he should some way or other fall into their hands, gave him secret information of his danger, and requested him to leave the city, for they could not save him if he should be demanded by the Queen of England in the Emperor's name. Accordingly, having taken the hint, he returned to Geneva.

Here he wrote An Admonition to London, Newcastle, and Berwick; A Letter to Mary, Dowager of Scotland; An Appeal to the Nobility; An Admonition to the Commons of his own country; and his First Blast of the Trumpet. This trumpet he intended to have blown three times, if Queen Mary's death had not prevented him; understanding, however, that an answer was to be given to his first Blast, he deferred the publication of the second, till he saw what answer was necessary to its vindication.

While he was at Geneva, he contracted a close intimacy with the celebrated John Calvin, with whom he consulted on every emergency. In the end of harvest 1555, he returned home, at the earnest solicitation of some of the Scots nobility, and began privately to instruct, in the true religion, such as resorted to him; among whom were the Laird of Dun, David Forrest, and Elizabeth Adamson, spouse to James Baron, a burghess of Edinburgh.—The idolatry of the mass, in particular, occupied his attention, as he observed that some, otherwise distinguished for zeal and godliness, were drawn aside by it. Both in public and private, he exposed its impiety and danger; and so far succeeded, as to draw off some, and alarm many others. In a conversation upon this subject, at the Laird of Dun's house, in presence

of David Forrest, Robert Lockhart, John Willock, and William Maitland, younger of Lethington: he gave such satisfactory answers to all the objections which were started by the company, that Maitland ended the conversation, by saying, "I see very well that all our shifts will serve nothing before God, seeing they stand us in so small stead before men." From this time forward, the mass was very little revered amongst them.

Knox continued a month, at the Laird of Dun's, preaching every day; the principal gentlemen of the country resorting to his ministry. From thence he went to Calder, where the Earl of Argyle, then Lord Lorn, and Lord James Stuart, afterwards Earl of Moray, heard his doctrine, and highly approved of it. During the winter, he taught in Edinburgh, and, in the beginning of spring, went to Ayrshire, where he preached in different places. The Earl of Glencairn sent for him to Finlayston, where, after sermon, he administered the Lord's supper, and then returned to Calder.

The people being thus instructed, began to refuse all superstition and idolatry, and set themselves to the utmost of their power to support the true preaching of the gospel. This alarmed the Popish clergy so much, that they from all quarters complained to the bishops; and Knox was summoned to appear in the Black Friars' church of Edinburgh, on the 15th of May following. This appointment he resolved to observe; and accordingly came to Edinburgh, in company with the Laird of Dun, and several other gentlemen; but the diet did not hold, because the bishops were afraid to proceed further against him. The consequence was, that, on the same day on which he should have appeared before them, he preached to a greater audience in Edinburgh, than ever he had before. The Earl of Marischal being induced by Lord Glencairn to hear one of his discourses, was so delighted with his doctrine, that he immediately proposed that something should be done, to secure the approbation and protection of the Regent to his ministrations. Knox accordingly addressed her in a letter which was delivered into her own hand by Glencairn. When she had read it, she gave it to Beaton, a nephew of the late cardinal, and then Archbishop of Glasgow, saying in ridicule, "Please you, my Lord, to read a pasquil?"

About this time, [1555], he received a letter from the English congregation at Geneva, who were not in communion with that of Frankfort, in which they intimated their choice of him as pastor, and besought him in the name of God, that he would speedily come to them. In obedience to this call, he resolved to go, and sent his wife and mother-in-law before him to Dieppe; but by the importunity of some gentlemen, he was prevailed on to stay some time longer in Scotland. This time he spent in going about exhorting the several congregations in which he had preached, to be fervent in prayer, frequent in reading the Scriptures, and in mutual conferences, till God should give them greater liberty. The Earl of Argyle, and others, earnestly solicited him permanently to remain in this country, but without effect. He told them, that, if they continued steadfast in the profession of the faith, God would bless these small

beginnings; but that he must for once go and visit that little flock which the wickedness of men had compelled him to leave; and being thus resolved, he went to Geneva.

As soon as he was gone, the Bishops caused him to be summoned to their tribunal, and for non-appearance they burnt him in effigy, at the cross of Edinburgh; from which unjust sentence, when he heard of it, he appealed to the nobility and commons of Scotland.

Having remained at Geneva for some time, in the quiet exercise of his duties, and the enjoyment of much agreeable and improving society: upon receipt of a letter, dated March 16th, 1557, subscribed by the Earls of Glencairn, Erskine, Argyle, and Moray, Knox resolved to return again to Scotland. Committing the care of his flock to Calvin; and coming to Dieppe, he wrote from thence to Mrs. Anne Locke, a declaration of his opinion of the English service-book, expressing himself thus: "Our Captain, Christ Jesus, and Satan his adversary, are now at open defiance; their banners are displayed, and the trumpet is blown on both sides for assembling their armies: our Master calleth upon his own, and that with vehemency, that they may depart from Babylon, yea, he threateneth death and damnation to such as either in forehead or right hand, have the mark of the beast; and a portion of this mark are all those dregs of Papistry, which are left in your great book of England, viz. crossing in baptism, kneeling at the Lord's table, mumbling or singing of the litany, &c. &c.; any one jot of which diabolical inventions, will I never counsel any man to use."

He was detained in this place much longer than he expected, which caused the Scots nobility to renew their solicitations. With these he at length complied; and arrived in Scotland on the 2d of May, 1559, being then fifty-four years of age. He preached first at Dundee, and afterwards at Perth, with great success. About this time, the Queen put some preachers to the horn, prohibiting all, upon pain of rebellion, to comfort, relieve, or assist them; which, with other things, so much enraged the multitude who attended him at Perth, that they would be restrained, neither by the preachers nor magistrates, from pulling down the images, and other monuments of idolatry. This being told to the Queen, so incensed her, that she vowed to destroy man, woman, and child, in that town, and burn it to the ground. In execution of this threat, she caused her French army to march towards it; but being informed that multitudes from the neighbouring country were assembling for its defence, her impetuosity was checked, and she resolved to use stratagem where force could not avail her. Accordingly she sent the Earls of Argyle and Moray, to learn what was their design in such commotions. Knox, in the name of the rest, made answer, "That they whom she thus persecuted were the servants of God, and faithful and obedient subjects of the realm: that the religion which she would maintain by fire and sword was not of Jesus Christ, but a superstitious device of men, and that her enterprise should not succeed in the end; for that she fought not against man only, but against the eternal God." Argyle and Moray delivered this mes-

sage; and, in return, she promised that the reformers should be permitted to leave the town in peace. Knox preached a sermon, exhorting his friends to constancy: adding, "I am persuaded that this promise shall be no longer kept than the Queen and her Frenchmen can get the upper hand;" which accordingly happened; for she immediately took violent possession of the town, and put a garrison of Frenchmen into it. This breach of promise so disgusted the Earls of Argyle and Moray, that they forsook her, joined the Congregation, and withdrew into Fife. Having assembled with the Laird of Dun and others, they sent for Knox; who, in his way to them, preached in Crail and Anstruther, intending to preach next day at St. Andrews.

This design coming to the ears of the archbishop; he raised a hundred spearmen, and sent this message to the Lords, "That if John Knox offered to preach there, he should have a warm military reception." They, in their turn, forewarned him of his danger, and dissuaded him from going. He made answer, "God is my witness, that I never preached Jesus Christ in contempt of any man; neither am I concerned to go thither, either out of respect to my own private interest, or to the worldly hurt of any creature; but I cannot, in conscience, delay preaching to-morrow, if I am not detained by violence. In this town and church, did God first call me to the dignity of a preacher, and in this town, when torn from it by the tyranny of France, I expressed my assurance that I would preach again. Therefore, seeing that God, beyond expectation, has brought me to this place, I beseech your Honours not to stop me from presenting myself to my brethren. As for fear of danger to my person, let no man be solicitous about that, for my life is in the hand of Him whose glory I seek; and therefore, I fear not their threats, so as to cease from doing my duty, when of his mercy God offereth the occasion. I desire the hand and weapon of no man to defend me; only I crave audience, which, if denied me here, at this time, I must seek further, where I may have it." The Lords were satisfied that he ought to fulfill his intention, which he did without any interruption, and with such boldness and success, that the magistrates and the people of the town, immediately after sermon, agreed to remove all monuments of idolatry; which they did with great expedition.

Accompanying the forces of the Congregation, he, in like manner, appeared in the churches of Edinburgh. But being soon after obliged to leave that city, in consequence of its occupation by the Regent's army, between which and that of the reformers, several skirmishes had taken place, he undertook a tour of preaching through the kingdom; and within less than two months, traveled over a great part of Scotland, diffusing the knowledge, and strengthening the interests of the Protestant cause. At this time too, he greatly exerted himself in procuring to that cause the assistance of England. In this great object he was ultimately successful. The management of the correspondence to which it led, chiefly devolved upon his hands. His exertions at this period, indeed, were incredibly great. By day he was employed in preaching; by night in writing letters on public business. He was the soul of the Congregation,

was always found at the post of danger, and by his presence, his public discourses and private advices, animated the whole body, and defeated the schemes employed to corrupt and divide them.

Such zeal and activity, could not but expose him to the most deadly resentment of the Papists and Queen Regent. A reward was publicly offered to any one who should apprehend or assassinate him; and not a few actuated by hatred or avarice, lay in wait to seize him. But all this did not deter him, from appearing in public, and discharging his duty with his wonted ability.

At length, however, the Queen Regent died, and a general peace, which lasted for some time, was procured; during which, the commissioners of the Scots nobility, in 1560, began to settle ministers in different places. Knox was appointed to Edinburgh, where he continued till the day of his death.

The same year the Scots Confession was compiled and agreed upon; and that the Church might be established upon a good foundation, a commission and charge was given to Knox, and five others, to draw up a form of government and discipline. When they had finished their task, they presented it to the nobility, and by them it was afterwards approved of and ratified.

This advancement, however, which the Reformation was daily making, soon after met with a severe check, by the arrival of Queen Mary from France, in August, 1561. Along with her came Popery, and all manner of profanity, and the mass again was publicly set up. By this latter step, the religious part of the nation were highly offended, and none more so than Knox, who exposing the evil and danger of it on every occasion, by that means greatly exasperated the Queen and Court. On one occasion he was called before them, and charged as guilty of high treason. The Queen being present, produced a letter written by him, in which it was alleged, he had convoked her majesty's lieges against law. Upon which a long argument ensued between him and Secretary Lethington, as to the contents of said letter: in which Knox gave such solid and bold answers, in defence of himself and doctrine, that at last he was acquitted by the Lords of the Council, to the no small displeasure of the Queen and the Popish party.

Some time previous to this, immediately indeed after the Queen's arrival in Scotland, Knox displayed a similar independence and boldness, in a long private conference which he was admitted to hold with her: and at which no other individual was present, but Lord James Stuart, Prior of St. Andrews. Being led to the question by what had previously fallen from him, she inquired, "Thinkest thou that subjects having the power, *may* resist their princes?" To this he replied, "If princes exceed their bounds, Madam, no doubt they may be resisted even by power. For there is no greater honour and obedience to be paid to princes, than God has commanded to be given to father and mother. But the father may be struck with a phrenzy in which he would slay his children. Now if children join together against their father, apprehend him, take his sword, or other weapons from him, bind his hands, and

put him in prison, till his frenzy be over, do they any wrong, or will God be offended with them for hindering their father from committing horrible murder? Even so, Madam, if princes will murder the children of God—their subjects, their blind zeal is but a mad frenzy. Therefore, to take the sword from them, to bind them, and to cast them into prison, till they be brought to a sober mind, is not disobedience, but just obedience, because it agreeth with the will of God.” The Queen hearing this, stood for some time as one amazed, and changed countenance. Her brother spoke to her, and inquired the cause of her uneasiness; but she made no reply. After a little, recovering herself, the conference went on, embracing a number of topics, chiefly theological; till at length the approach of the dinner hour, afforded a pretext for breaking it off.

After the Queen’s marriage with the Earl of Darnley, in 1565, a proclamation was made, signifying, that forasmuch as certain rebels, under the colour of religion, (meaning those who opposed the measures of the Court,) intended nothing but the subversion of the commonwealth, they therefore charged all manner of men, under pain of life, lands and goods, to resort and meet their Majesties at Linlithgow, on the 24th of August. Upon Sabbath, the 19th, the King came to the High Church of Edinburgh, where Knox preached from these words, *O Lord, our Lord, other Lords beside thee, have had the dominion over us, &c.** In his sermon, he took occasion to speak of wicked princes, who, for the sins of a people, were sent to them as scourges; and also said, “That God set in that room boys and women; and that God justly punished Ahab and his posterity, because he would not take order with the harlot Jezebel.” These things enraged the King to a very high degree. Knox was immediately ordered before the Council, and went thither attended by some of the most respectable citizens. When called in, the Secretary signified that the King was much offended with some words in his sermon, as above mentioned; and ordered him to abstain from preaching, for fifteen or twenty days. To which Knox answered, That he had spoken nothing but according to his text; and if the *Church* would command him either to speak, or refrain from speaking, he would obey so far as the word of God would permit him. Nevertheless, for this and another sermon which he preached before the Lords, in which he showed the bad consequences that would follow upon the Queen’s being married to a Papist, he was, by her order, prohibited from preaching for a considerable time.

During this interval, he visited his two sons, whom he had sent to reside with their mother’s relations in England; and he endeavoured to render his journey thither, subservient to the interests of religion, by carrying a letter from the Assembly to the English Bishops, interceding for lenity towards those of the clergy who scrupled to use the sacerdotal dress enjoined by law. He returned to his charge about the time of the Queen’s flight with Bothwell to Dunbar; and was delegated by the General Assembly to repair to the west,

in order to persuade the Hamiltons to join the confederated Lords in settling the state of the kingdom.

On the 29th of July, 1567, he preached a sermon at the Coronation of James VI. in the parish church of Stirling; and was one of those who strongly urged the trial of Mary, for the alleged murder of her husband, and adulterous connection with Bothwell.

At the meeting of Parliament, towards the end of the same year, he pressed the ratification of all the acts of 1560, in favour of the reformed faith, and was appointed one of the Commissioners for drawing out the particular points pertaining to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which were to be presented at next meeting of Parliament.

On the 24th of January 1570, Knox, being in the pulpit, there was put into his hands, among others, bearing the names of the sick people to be prayed for; a paper which contained these words: "Take up the man whom you accounted another God," alluding to the Earl of Moray, who was slain the day before. Having read it, he put it into his pocket, without showing the least discomposure. After sermon, he lamented the loss which both Church and State had met with in the death of that worthy nobleman, showing, that God takes away good and wise rulers from a people in his wrath: and at last said, "There is one in the company who maketh that horrible murder, at which all good men have occasion to be sorrowful, the subject of his mirth. I tell him, he shall die in a strange land, where he shall not have a friend to hold up his head." Thomas Maitland, brother to the Secretary of that name, being the author of that insulting statement, and hearing what he had said, confessed the whole to his sister, the Lady Trabrown; but observed, "That John Knox was raving, to speak of he knew not whom." She replied with tears, that none of Mr. Knox's threatenings fell to the ground. This gentleman afterwards went abroad, and died in Italy, on his way to Rome, having no man to assist him.

In the month of October the same year, Knox had a stroke of apoplexy, which, to a considerable degree, affected his speech; and though in a few days he was able to resume the duty of preaching, he never recovered from the debility produced by the attack. But though so much weakened in body, that he never went abroad except on Sabbath days to the pulpit, yet whenever he saw the welfare of the church or commonwealth threatened, he entered into the cause with all the keenness of his most vigorous days.

In April 1571, his situation was rendered very critical. The Popish faction having found that it would be impossible to get their idolatry re-established, while the reformation was making such progress, and while he and his associates had such credit with the people, now began to set other engines to work, than those they had hitherto used. They spared no pains to blast his reputation, by the most malicious calumnies. They tried even to gain their end by making attempts upon his life; for, one night as he was sitting in his own house, he was fired at from the other side of the street. The shot entered at the window; but he being at another side of the table from that at which he usually sat, the assassin

missed his mark; the bullet struck the candlestick before him, and then lodged itself in the roof of the apartment. Thus was *he that was with him, stronger than they that were against him.*

At the earnest entreaties of his friends, who declared their determination, if he should be attacked, to shed their blood in his defence, he reluctantly withdrew to St. Andrews; where he continued with undiminished boldness to denounce the enemies of the reformed faith, and to withstand the encroachments made by its false friends upon the polity and revenues of the Church. Being urged by the Earl of Morton, who was afterwards Regent, to inaugurate the archbishop of that See, he declined to do so, with solemn protestations against it; and denounced an anathema both on the giver and receiver of the office. Though he was then very weak in body, he would not refrain from preaching, and was obliged to be supported by his servant, Richard Bannatyne, in going to church; and, when in the pulpit, he behoved to rest some time before he could proceed to preach; but ere he ended his sermon, he became so vigorous and active, that he was like to have broken the pulpit to pieces.

Here he continued till the end of August, 1572, when the civil broils were a little abated, upon which, receiving a letter from Edinburgh, he returned to his flock. He was now much oppressed with the infirmities of old age, and the extraordinary fatigues he had undergone; the death of the Regent Moray had made a deep impression on him; and when he heard of the massacre at Paris,* and the murder of the good Admiral Coligni, the melancholy news almost deprived him of life. Upon finding his dissolution approaching, he prevailed on the Council and kirk-session of Edinburgh, to concur with him in admitting James Lawson, at that time professor of philosophy in the college of Aberdeen, as his successor. He wrote a letter to Mr. Lawson, entreating him to accept of the charge; adding this postscript, *Accelera, mi frater, alioquin sero venies*; that is, "Make haste, my brother, otherwise you will come too late;" meaning that if he came not speedily, he would find him dead. Mr. Lawson, accordingly, set out immediately, making all possible haste, to Edinburgh; where, after he had preached twice to the full satisfaction of the people, the 9th of November was appointed for his admission. Knox, though then still weaker, preached upon the occasion with much power, and with the greatest comfort to the hearers. In the close of his sermon, he called God to witness, that he had walked in a good conscience among them, not seeking to

* In the space of two or three days, there were about 70,000 Protestants murdered in cold blood in Paris, and other parts of France. This massacre was begun in the night of St. Bartholomew's day, in the reign of Charles IX. of that kingdom. The King of Navarre, afterwards Henry the Great, narrowly escaped on that occasion; for he was then in Paris, on account of the solemnization of his marriage with Charles' sister; which marriage the Papists had contrived in order to draw as many Protestants into that city as possible, that they might have them in their power. See the account of this mournful event in Sully's *Memoirs*, vol. I.

please men, nor serving his own or other men's inclinations, but in all sincerity and truth preaching the Gospel of Christ. Then praising God, who had given them one in his room, he exhorted them to stand fast in the faith they had received; and having prayed fervently for the Divine blessing upon them, and the increase of the Spirit upon their new pastor, he gave them his last farewell; at which the congregation were much affected.

Being carried home, that same day he was confined to bed, and on the 13th was so enfeebled, that he was obliged to lay aside his ordinary reading of the Scriptures. The next day, he expressed his determination to rise, and being asked, What he intended by getting out of bed? he replied, that he would go to church, thinking that it had been the Lord's day. He told them, he had been all night meditating on the resurrection, which he should have preached on in order after the death of Christ; having discoursed on this the sabbath before. He had often desired of God that he might end his days in meditating and preaching upon that doctrine; a desire that seems to have been granted to him. Upon the 17th, the elders and deacons having come to him, he said, "The time is approaching, for which I have long thirsted, wherein I shall be relieved from all cares, and be with my Saviour for ever; and now, God is my witness, whom I have served with my spirit in the Gospel of his Son, that I have taught nothing but the true and solid doctrine of the Gospel, and that the end which I purposed in all my doctrines was to instruct the ignorant, to confirm the weak, to comfort the hearts of those that were humbled under the sense of sin, and to denounce the threatenings of God's word against such as were rebellious. I am not ignorant that many have blamed, and yet do blame me, for too great rigour and severity; but God knoweth that, in my heart, I never hated the persons of those against whom I thundered God's judgments; I did only hate their sins; and laboured, according to my power, to gain them to Christ; that I did forbear none of whatsoever condition, and that I did it out of the fear of God, who placed me in this function of the ministry, and will, I know, bring me to an account." He then exhorted them to constancy, and entreated them never to join with the wicked, but rather to choose with David to flee to the mountains, than to remain with such company. After this exhortation to the elders and deacons, he charged David Lindsay and James Lawson to take heed to feed the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers. To Mr. Lawson in particular, he said, "Fight the good fight; do the work of the Lord with courage, and with a willing mind; and God from above bless you, and the church whereof you have the charge; against which, the gates of hell shall not prevail." Then, by prayer, he commended the whole company present, to the grace of God, and afterwards desired his wife, or Richard Bannatyne, to read the 17th chapter of John, a chapter of the Ephesians, and the 33d chapter of Isaiah daily, after he was unable to read himself. Sometimes he desired part of Calvin's sermons, in French, to be read to him. One time, when reading these sermons, they supposed him to be

sleeping, and asked him, if he heard what was read : he replied, " I hear, I praise God, and understand far better."

One day after this, Mr. Lindsay, coming to see him, he said unto him, " Well, brother, I thank God I have desired all this day to have you, that I might send you to that man in the castle, the Laird of Grange, whom you know I have loved dearly. Go, I pray you, and tell him from me, in the name of God, that unless he leave that evil course whereon he has entered, neither shall that rock (meaning the castle of Edinburgh, which he then kept out against the King) afford him any help, nor the carnal wisdom of that man, whom he counteth half a god, (meaning young Lethington) ; but he shall be pulled out of that nest, and brought down over the wall with shame, and his carcase shall be hung before the sun : so God hath assured me."* When Lindsay delivered this message, the Captain seemed to be much moved ; but after a little conference with Lethington, he returned, and dismissed him with a disdainful countenance and answer. When he reported this to Knox, he said, " Well, I have been earnest with God anent that man : I am sorry that it should so befall his body, yet God assureth me, there is mercy for his soul.† But for the other, (meaning Lethington,) I have no warrant to say that it shall be well with him." The truth of this seemed to appear in a short time thereafter : for it was thought that Lethington poisoned himself, to avoid public punishment. He lay unburied in the steeple of Leith, until his body was quite corrupted ; but Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange was, on the 3d of August next, executed at the cross of Edinburgh. He caused Lindsay to repeat Knox's words concerning him, a little before his

* There is here something very like a claim to a Divine revelation ; and the event seemed to make this assume the character of a prophecy. Kirkaldy of Grange was in a state of rebellion against the existing authority of the realm. He held the castle of Edinburgh for the Queen, while the bulk of the nation had renounced her, and sworn allegiance to her son. It did not require the gift of prophecy to foretell that this would cost him his life, unless he made submission upon condition, when conditions might have been obtained. The words, " So God hath assured me," make it evident that Knox thought he had a Divine communication, in that instance, at least ; which must have arisen from the strong impression of the thing which he had on his mind, and which he mistook for a Divine impulse. In Dr. M'Crie's narrative of the same conversation, the words, " so God hath assured me," are not to be found ; from which, that truly accurate historian must have considered them apocryphal. W. M'G.

† Knox had been earnest with God anent that man ; that is, he had prayed earnestly for his salvation ; and having probably had great freedom and enlargement in this exercise, he took it as a favourable answer. This was enough to encourage hope, and perseverance in prayer ; but an absolute assurance that his request was granted, was more than he had a right to infer. This led to a very dangerous error on the part of Kirkaldy himself ; for he took Knox's words as a Divine revelation concerning him, and was greatly comforted by them, when about to be executed. He had been evidently living in a state of backsliding, or apostacy ; and there was no safety for him but by coming directly to Christ for pardon, as he had come at first, supposing that at one time he had given evidence of being a true believer. If he was diverted from this by trusting in what Knox had said, it must have been a fatal delusion. W. M'G.

execution: and was much comforted by them. He said to him, when accompanying him to the scaffold, "I hope when men shall think I am gone, I shall be able to give a token of the assurance of God's mercy to my soul, according to the speech of that man of God." Accordingly, when he was cast over the ladder, with his face towards the east, when all present thought he was dead, he lifted up his hands, which were bound, and let them fall softly down again, as if praising God for his great mercy towards him.*

One of Knox's visitors having desired him to praise God for the good he had done, he answered, "Flesh of itself is too proud, and needs nothing to puff it up," and protested, that he only laid claim to the free mercy of God in Christ. Among others, to the Earl of Morton, who was then about to receive the Regency, (the Earl of Mar having died the preceding month,) he was heard to say, "My Lord, God hath given you many blessings; he hath given you high honour, birth, great riches, many good friends, and is now to prefer you to the government of the realm. In his name, I charge you, that you will use these blessings better in time to come, than you have done in time past: in all your actions seek first the glory of God, the furtherance of his Gospel, the maintenance of his Church and ministry: and then be careful of the King, to procure his good, and the welfare of the kingdom. If you act thus, God will be with you: if otherwise, he shall deprive you of all these benefits, and your end shall be shameful and ignominious." This threatening, Morton, to his melancholy experience, confessed, was literally accomplished: at his execution, in June 1581, he called to mind Knox's words: and acknowledged, that in what he had said to him, he had been a true prophet.†

On Friday, the 21st of November, he desired Richard Bannatyne to order his coffin to be made. During that day, he was much engaged in meditation and prayer. These words were often in his mouth: "Come Lord Jesus. Sweet Jesus, into thy hands I commend my spirit. Be merciful, Lord, to thy Church, which thou hast redeemed. Give peace to this afflicted Commonwealth. Raise up faithful pastors who will take charge of thy Church. Grant us, Lord, the perfect hatred of sin, both by the evidences of thy wrath and mercy."

Upon the Lord's day, November 23d, after he had lain for some time very quiet, he said, "If any man be present, let him come and see the work of God;" for he thought, as was supposed, to have then expired. His servant having sent to church for Johnston of Elphinstone, he burst forth into these words: "I have been in meditation these two last nights upon the troubled Kirk of God, despised in the world, but precious in his sight. I have called to God for

* See Spottiswood's Hist. pp. 266. 272; and Calderwood's Hist. pp. 62, 63.

† Attention to the history of his country for a few years past, and to the state of parties, might have enabled Morton to prophesy thus of himself, without any supernatural gift.

her, and commended her to Christ her head, I have been fighting against Satan, who is ever ready for the assault; I have fought against spiritual wickednesses, and have prevailed: I have been as it were in heaven, and have tasted of its joys." After sermon several persons came to visit him; one of them, perceiving that he breathed short, asked him, If he had any pain? he answered, "I have no more pain than he that is now in heaven; and I am content, 'till please God, to lie here seven years." Many times, when lying as if asleep, he was in meditation, and was heard expressing himself thus: "Lord, grant true pastors to thy church, that purity of doctrine may be retained. Restore peace to this commonwealth, with godly rulers and magistrates. O serve the Lord in fear, and death shall not be troublesome to you. Blessed is the death of those who have part in the death of Jesus."

That night, Dr. Preston having come, and being told by some of the attendants, that he was often very uneasy in his sleep, asked him when he awoke, "How he did, and what made him moan so heavily in his sleep?" To this he answered, "In my lifetime, I have been often assaulted by Satan, and many times he hath cast my sins in my teeth, to bring me to despair: yet God gave me strength to overcome his temptations, and now that subtle serpent, who never ceaseth to tempt, hath taken another course, and seeks to persuade me, that all my labours in the ministry, and the fidelity I have shewed in that service, have merited heaven and immortality. But blessed be God, he hath brought to my mind that scripture, *What hast thou that thou hast not received? and not I, but the grace of God which is in me*; with which Satan hath gone away ashamed, and shall no more return; and now I am sure my battle is at an end, and that I shall shortly, without pain of body, or trouble of spirit, change this mortal and miserable life, for that happy and immortal life which shall never have an end." During the course of that night his sickness greatly increased.

Monday, the 24th of November, was the last day he spent on earth. He rose out of bed about ten o'clock, put on his hose and doublet, sat up for about half an hour, and then returned to bed again. Being asked by Kinzeaneleugh, if he had any pain? he answered, "No pain but such as, I trust, will soon put an end to this battle; yea, I do not esteem that pain to me, which is the beginning of eternal joy." In the afternoon, he caused his wife to read the fifteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians. When it was ended, he said, "Is not that a comfortable chapter?" a little after, "I commend my soul, spirit, and body, into thy hands, O Lord." About five o'clock at night, he said to his wife, "Go, read where I first cast my anchor." This was the seventeenth chapter of John's Gospel, which she read, together with part of Calvin's sermons on the Ephesians. They then went to prayer; after which Dr. Preston asked him, "If he heard the prayer?" he answered, "Would to God that you and all men had heard it as I have done: I praise God for that heavenly sound;" adding, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." About eleven o'clock he gave a deep

sigh, and said, "Now, it is come." His servant, Richard Bannatyne, hearing him, drew near and said, "Now, Sir, the time you have long called to God for, doth instantly come; and, seeing all natural powers fail, give us some sign, that you live upon the comfortable promises which you have so often shewed to us." Upon this, he lifted up one of his hands; and immediately after, sighing twice, he expired without any struggle, as one falling asleep. Thus finishing his Christian warfare, he entered into the joy of his Lord, to receive a crown of righteousness, prepared for him, and such a him, from before the foundation of the world.

He was buried in the church-yard of St. Giles, now that square called the Parliament Close, upon Wednesday the 30th of November. His funeral was attended by the Earl of Morton, then Regent, other Lords, and a great multitude of people of all ranks. When he was laid in the grave, the Earl of Morton said, "There lies a man, who, in his life, never feared the face of man; who hath been often threatened with dag and dagger, but hath ended his days in honour and in peace."

He was low in stature, and of a weakly constitution; which led Principal Smeaton, one of his contemporaries, to say, "I know not if ever God placed a more godly and great spirit in a body so little and frail. I am certain, that there can scarcely be found another, in whom more gifts of the Holy Ghost, for the comfort of the church of Scotland, did shine. No one spared himself less; no one was more diligent in the charge committed to him; and yet no one was more the object of the hatred of wicked men, and more vexed with the reproach of evil speakers; but this was so far from abating, that it rather strengthened his courage and resolution in the ways of God." Beza calls him "the great apostle of the Scots." His faithfulness in reprov- ing sin, in a manner that shewed he was not to be awed by the fear of man, made up the most remarkable part of his character, and the success with which the Lord blessed his labours, was enough to stop the mouth of every enemy against him.

His works are, an Admonition to England; an Application to the Scots Nobility; a Letter to Mary, the Queen Regent; a History of the Reformation; a Treatise on Predestination; the First and Second Blast of the Trumpet; a Sermon, preached August, 1565, on account of which he was for some time prohibited from preaching. He left also sundry manuscripts, sermons, and tracts which have never been printed.



GEORGE BUCHANAN.

GEORGE BUCHANAN was born in the parish of Killearn and county of Stirling, then forming part of Lennoxshire, in a rustic hamlet, situated on the banks of the river Blane, about the beginning of

February, 1506. His family was rather ancient than opulent. His father died of stone, in the flower of his age, and his grandfather, who was yet alive, becoming insolvent, the family, which was but poor before, was now reduced almost to the extremity of want. Yet such was the frugal care of his mother, Agnes Herriot, that she brought up five sons and three daughters to men and women's estate. Of the five sons, George was one. His uncle, James Herriot, perceiving his promising talents, evinced even at the country school, took him from thence, and sent him to Paris [1520]. There he applied himself to his studies, and especially to Poetry, having partly a natural genius for it, and partly out of necessity, it being one of the tasks propounded to the students. Before he had been there two years, his uncle died, and he himself fell dangerously sick; and being in extreme want, he was forced to go home to his friends [1522]. After his return to Scotland, he spent almost a year in improving his health; he then went into the army with some French auxiliaries newly arrived in Scotland, [1523] to learn the military art. But that expedition having proved fruitless, and these forces being reduced by the deep snow of a very severe winter, he relapsed into such an illness as confined him all that season to his bed. Early in the spring, he was sent to St. Andrews, to hear the lectures of John Major; who, though very old, read logic, or rather, sophistry in that university. The summer after, [1526] he accompanied him into France; and there he imbibed the tenets of the Lutheran sect, which then began to increase. He struggled with the difficulties of fortune almost two years, and at last was admitted into the college of St. Barbe, where he was professor of grammar for almost three years. During that time, Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassilis, one of the young Scottish nobles, being in that country, [1527] was much taken with his ingenuity and acquaintance; so that he entertained him for five years, and brought him back with him into Scotland.

Afterwards having a mind to return to Paris to his old studies, he was detained by the King, and made tutor to James his natural son. In the mean time, an elegy made by him at leisure hours, came into the hands of the Franciscans. In it he represented himself as solicited in a dream, by St. Francis, to enter into his order; and having in one or two passages reflected on them very severely, these ghostly fathers, notwithstanding their profession of meekness and humility, resented more keenly than men having obtained such a character for piety ought to have done, so small an occasion of offence. But finding no just grounds for their unbounded fury, they attacked him upon the score of religion; which was their common way of terrifying those who incurred their displeasure. Thus, whilst they indulged their impotent malice, they made him, who was not well affected to them before, a still greater enemy to their licentiousness, and rendered him still more partial to the Lutheran cause. In the mean time, [1537] the King, with Magdalene his wife, came from France, not with the good will of the priesthood; who were afraid that the royal lady, having been bred up under her aunt the queen

of Navarre, should attempt some innovation in religion. But this fear soon vanished upon her death, which followed shortly after.

Next there arose jealousies at Court about some of the nobility, who were thought to have conspired against his Majesty, and in that matter, the King being persuaded that the Franciscans dealt insincerely, commanded Buchanan, who was then at Court, though ignorant of the disgusts between him and that order, to write a satire upon them. He was loath to offend either party; and therefore, though he made a poem, it was but short, and such as might admit of a doubtful interpretation, and thus satisfied neither the King, who would have a sharp and stinging invective, nor yet the fathers, who looked on it as a capital offence, to have any thing said of them in the least degree dishonourable. So that, receiving a second command to write more pungently against them, he began that poem, which now bears the title of the Franciscan, and gave it to the King.* But shortly after, [1539] learning from his friends at Court, that Cardinal Beaton sought his life, and had offered the King a sum of money, as a price for his head, he, on being apprehended, escaped out of prison, and fled to England.† But there

* This is a severe satire against the monks and friars. The following extract is from *The Protestant*, being part of a translation, by the Rev. John Graham, Rector of Magilligan, Ireland:—

“ And now, my faithful brethren, once for all,
I warn all Catholics against St. Paul;
The man of Tarsus, though his head lies low,
Lives in his writings, our eternal foe:—
Would he had perish'd at an early day,
Or to Damascus, when he took his way,
Had dropp'd down dead, before he was baptized,
And joined the sect he hated and despised.
Time yet will come, if prophets tell no lie,
Who all assure us that it now draws nigh,
When men, convinced by Paul, shall forward stand,
To purge from superstition all the land—
From Christian churches, heathen priests expel,
No longer arbiters of heaven and hell:—
Then truth victorious, beaming upon man,
Shall soon display the gospel's holy plan;
And to the world expose, as clear as day,
The wiles we practice, and the tricks we play.
Therefore take heed, nor grant to small or great,
The liberty these writings to translate;
And, since we can't destroy them, let them lie,
Lock'd up in Latin, from the vulgar eye—
Left to be studied and commented on
By th' orthodox old doctors of Sorbonne,
Who, when their hoary heads are warm'd with wine,
Can best unravel mysteries divine.”

W. M'G.

† “ In the midst of these evils,” says Knox, “ he (the King) caused to put hands on that notable man, Mr. George Buchanan; but by the merciful providence of God he escaped the rage of those that sought his life, although with great difficulty, and remains alive to this day (1566), to the glory of God, the great honour of this na-

also, things were in such confusion, that on the very same day, and almost with one and the same fire, the men of both factions, Protestants and Papists, were burnt; Henry VIII. in his old age, being more intent on his own security, than the purity or reformation of religion. This uncertainty of affairs in England, seconded by his former acquaintance with the French, and the courtesy natural to them, drew him again into that kingdom.

On his arrival in Paris, he found Cardinal Beaton, his bitterest enemy, in the character of ambassador there: so that, to withdraw himself from his fury, at the invitation of Andrew Govean, he went to Bourdeaux. There he taught three years in the schools, which were erected at the public cost, and in that time he composed four tragedies, which were afterwards published at different times. But that which he wrote first, called the Baptist, was printed last, and next to it the Medea of Euripides. He wrote these in compliance with the custom of the school, which required that a play should be produced annually, that the acting of them might wean the youth from the allegories, then in vogue on the continent, and bring them back, as much as possible, to a just imitation of the ancients. Succeeding in these far beyond his hopes, he took more pains in composing his other two tragedies, Jephthes and Alcestes; for he thought that they would fall under a severer scrutiny by the learned. And yet, during this time, he was, by no means, free from trouble; but was harassed by the menaces of the Cardinal on the one side, and of the Franciscans on the other. For the Cardinal had wrote letters to the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, desiring that he might be apprehended; but providentially these letters fell into the hands of Buchanan's best friends. However, the death of the King of Scots, 1542, and the plague, which then raged over all Guienne, dispelled this fear.

In the meantime, an express came to Govean from the King of Portugal, commanding him to return, and bring with him some men learned in the Greek and Latin tongues: that they might teach the liberal arts, and especially the principles of the Aristotelian philosophy, in those schools which, with great care and expense, he was then erecting. Buchanan, being addressed on the subject, readily consented to go for one. For, whilst he saw that the whole of Europe besides, was either actually engaged in foreign or domestic wars, or just upon the point of being so, Portugal, in his opinion, was likely to be free from such tumults and combustions: and besides, his companions in the expedition were such, that they seemed rather his acquaintances and familiar friends, than strangers or aliens to him. There were many of them who had been his intimates for several years, and who are well known to the world by their learned works, as Nicholaus Gruchius, Gulielmus Garentius, Jacobus Tevius, and Elias Venetus, and for this reason he not only himself be-

tion, and to the comfort of those who delight in learning and virtue."—Hist. Ref. B. I.

came one of their society, but also persuaded his brother Patrick, to do the same. And truly at first the matter succeeded excellently well; but, in the midst of the enterprise, Govean was carried off by a sudden death, a circumstance which proved greatly prejudicial to his companions.

Immediately on his decease [1548], their enemies endeavoured first to ensnare them by treachery, and soon after openly and violently attacked them: and having employed agents and judges who were exceedingly hostile to the accused, they laid hold of three of them, and haled them to prison. From thence, after a long and loathsome confinement, they were brought out to make their defences, but, after many bitter taunts, were remanded again; no accuser having appeared in court against them. Over Buchanan, in particular, they insulted most bitterly, as being a stranger; and knowing also, that he had few friends in that country, who would either rejoice in his prosperity, sympathize with his sorrows, or revenge the wrongs which were offered to him.

The chief crime laid to his charge, was the writing of his poem against the Franciscans, which, before leaving France, he had taken care to get excused to the King of Portugal, and of which his accusers were almost entirely ignorant, since he had only parted with one copy of it to the King of Scots, by whose command he wrote it. They farther objected "his eating flesh in Lent;" though there is not a man in all Spain but uses the same liberty. And besides, it was urged that he had passed some sharp remarks upon the monks; which, however, nobody but a monk himself could well except against. Moreover, they took it heinously amiss, that in familiar discourse with some young Portuguese gentlemen, upon mention being made of the eucharist, he affirmed, that, in his opinion, Austin was most inclined to the party condemned by the church of Rome. And two other persons, as came to his knowledge some years after, viz. John Talpin, a Norman, and John Ferrerius, a Piedmontese, witnessed against him, that they had heard, from several creditable persons, "That he was not orthodox as to the Romish faith and religion." But to return to the narrative:

After having wearied both themselves and him for nearly a year and a half, the inquisitors at last, that they might not seem to have causelessly harassed a man of some name and note in the world, shut him up for some months in a monastery, there to be more strictly disciplined and instructed by the monks; who, to give them their due, though very ignorant in all matters of religion, were men, otherwise, neither bad in their morals, nor rude in their behaviour. During this time [1551] it was, that he translated the principal part of David's Psalms, into Latin verse.

At length he was set at liberty; and, upon requesting permission and passports to return to France, the King desired him to remain in Portugal, and meantime allotted him a small sum for daily necessities and expenses, till some better provision might be made for his subsistence. But, tired with the delay, and being put off to no certain time, nor on any sure grounds of hope, and having got the

opportunity of a passage in a ship then riding in the bay of Lisbon, he went over into England. In that country he made but a short stay, even though fair offers were made him; for he saw that all things were in hurry and tumult, under a very young King; the nobles being at variance with one another; and the minds of the commons yet in a ferment, on account of their recent civil commotions [1552]. He therefore returned into France, and arrived about the time that the siege of Metz was raised [1553], and was in a manner compelled by his friends to write a poem relating to that siege; which he did with reluctance, being unwilling to interfere with several of his acquaintances, and especially with Melinus Sangelasius, who had just composed a learned and elegant eulogy on the subject. To the French, at this period of his life, Buchanan was much attached, and they, with their characteristic vanity, wished to lay claim to him as their own; his reputation as a poet having now shed a glory around the land of his birth. The warmth of his attachment he expressed in a poem, which he wrote on the occasion of his arrival in France, where he soon after was appointed a regent of the college of Bonconit.

From thence [1553] he was called into Italy, by Charles de Cosse of Brescia, who then, with much reputation and success, governed in the French and Genoese countries about the Po, and lived with him and his son Timoleon, sometimes in Italy, and sometimes in France: he remained for about five years, till the year 1560. A great part of this time he spent in the study of the Holy Scriptures, that so he might be able to form a more correct judgment of the controversies in religion, which employed the thoughts, and occupied the time of most of the men of those days. And these disputes being then a little silenced in Scotland, when that kingdom was freed from the tyranny of the Guises of France; he at length returned thither, and became a member of the reformed church of Scotland.

The date of his return cannot be exactly ascertained. But it was certainly about the year 1560. Some of his early writings he now, as it were, redeemed from shipwreck, collected and published. The rest, which were scattered up and down in the hands of his friends, he committed to the disposal of Providence. Shortly after, he was made choice of by the young Queen, on her arrival from France, to assist and direct her classical studies; and, so much does he seem to have been impressed with her insinuating manners and elegant accomplishments, as to have given vent to his admiration, by dedicating to her the first complete edition of his *Psalms*. Nor does it appear that she was altogether insensible to his merits, for we find she rewarded him for his services, by conferring upon him [1564] the temporalities of Crossraguell Abbey. His steady attachment, however, to the reformed religion and the liberties of his country, rendered him directly opposed to her favourite designs and her ruling passions, and led him to cultivate the friendship of those who afterwards placed themselves in array against her.

Accordingly, during this same year we find he prepared for the

press a collection of his Satires, in which he employed his keenest irony against the fooleries and impurities of the Popish church, and having finished his *Franciscanus*, dedicated it to his friend and patron, the Earl of Moray. Two years after [1566], a vacancy having occurred, he was presented by that nobleman, as prior of St. Andrews, to the principality of one of the colleges in that city.

He now, of course, gave up his connection with the court, and removed his residence thither; and the chamber which, as principal of St. Leonards, he is said to have occupied, is yet shewn to the curious, and is supposed to have undergone but little transformation. In this office, he delivered occasional prelections in Theology, and gave ample proofs of his acquaintance with the Scriptures; and not only in the university, but throughout the church, his character stood high. Though never either rector or dean of the Faculty of Arts, his name occurs three times in the record of 1567-8-9, as one of the dean's assessors, and, from the year 1563 to 1567, he had the honour of a seat in the General Assembly as a Doctor, was a constant member of its most important committees, and in the last of these years was chosen Moderator.

He was now called from the calm pursuits of the scholar, poet, and theologian, to mingle in the arena of civil politics. After the defeat of the Queen at Langside, and her unhappy flight into England, the Regent was forced by his circumstances to undertake the ungracious task of appearing as the accuser of his sister and sovereign; and in the performance of this painful duty was assisted by Buchanan, who attended him to the conferences at York and Westminster [1568-9], and drew up in Latin, "*A Detection of the Doings of Mary Queen of Scots.*" He has also, but erroneously, been supposed to be the author of another Latin treatise on the same subject, "*Actio contra Mariam,*" and on account of it has suffered much undeserved reproach; but this, in reality, was produced by one of the satellites of Elizabeth, and contains sentiments the very reverse of Buchanan's. The Detection, which was strictly an official paper, as originally written by him, was a concise historical deduction of facts, such as was absolutely necessary for understanding the subject, and vindicating the nobles in their proceedings against the Queen.

Upon the death of the Regent, which happened soon after, dreading the prevailing influence and ambitious views of the house of Hamilton, he wrote and printed his "*Admonition to the true Lords, maintainers of justice and obedience to the King's Grace;*" a tract, having in view to rouse the nobility to repress the disorderly, to punish the abettors of sedition, and to protect the young King from the dangers which threatened his life.

It would also appear, that having, during the Regency of Moray, been for a short period Director of Chancery, he was under that of Lennox, in the year 1570, appointed Lord Privy Seal. In the same year too, he was entrusted with the important charge of educating the young King, now in his fourth year, a charge, which all will acknowledge his fitness to undertake, and his fidelity in executing,

and which he would have fulfilled with much more success, had those who were associated with him been equally faithful. As being Lord Privy Seal, he was entitled to a seat in Parliament, and was appointed a commissioner on several important occasions. In 1578, he formed one of a commission, including many of the most illustrious for rank or talent in Scotland, appointed to examine and digest the laws of the land. He was also included in two commissions respecting Education; and also in one for examining a "Book of the Policy of the Kirk." During the time that Morton was displaced from the office of Regent, he was, moreover, associated with other officers of State, appointed by the Privy Council to advise and direct the young monarch: an office which soon became unnecessary by the Earl's return to power. But amidst all these varied avocations, his whole soul seems to have been intensely bent on forming the mind of his royal pupil to those maxims of government and those principles of character, on which the dignity and happiness of a first Magistrate essentially depend. On this subject, his bold and independent, and almost prophetic address to him in dedicating the *Baptistes*, in 1576, ought not to be passed over. "This circumstance," says he, "may seem to bear a more particular reference to you, that it clearly discloses the punishment of tyrants, and the misery which awaits them when their prosperity seems at its height. That you should now acquire such knowledge, I consider as not only expedient but even necessary, in order that you may early begin to hate what you ought ever to shun. I therefore wish this work to remain as a witness to posterity, that if, impelled by evil counsellors, and suffering the licentiousness of royalty to prevail over a virtuous education, you should hereafter be guilty of any improper conduct, the fault may be imputed, not to your preceptors, but to you, who have not obeyed their salutary admonitions."

In similar language, and with increasing anxiety, did he, three years afterwards, inscribe to him the most important of all his writings, except his *History*, the treatise, *De jure Regni apud Scotos*: "I have deemed," says the venerable teacher, "this publication expedient, that it may at once testify my zeal for your service, and admonish you of your duty to the community." Then, after some compliments to his docility, he adds: "Yet am I compelled to entertain some slight degree of suspicion, lest evil communication, the alluring nurse of the vices, should lend an unhappy impulse to your still tender mind; especially as I am not ignorant with what facility the external senses yield to seduction. I have therefore sent you this treatise, not only as an advice, but even as an importunate, and sometimes impudent, exhorter, to direct you, at this critical period of life, safely past the dangerous rocks of adulation; not merely to point out the path, but to keep you in it, and if you should deviate, to reprove and reclaim your wanderings; which monitor if you obey, you will ensure tranquillity to yourself and your family, and transmit your glory to the most remote posterity."

This treatise, originally written as a defence of the friends of freedom in their treatment of the Queen, is not confined to the merely

local and temporary question as to the murder of her husband, and her liability to punishment; but considers, in all its bearings, the broad, but delicate subject of allegiance, and has in view to show, that only a good government has a right to support, and that a bad one ought to be resisted.*

Now advanced to his 74th year, he was induced, in compliance with the solicitations of his friends, to write a short account of his life, which, marked as it is by his characteristic manliness and simplicity, is, so far as it goes, followed throughout in the present memoir.

An instance of his kindness to an humble scholar, who about this time solicited his revision of a work, and which has been recorded to his honour, seems to fix his residence at Stirling. From a letter, however, still extant, addressed by him to Beza, and the last that he wrote, it would appear he shortly after removed to Edinburgh. It is dated Edinburgh, 15th July, 1581. His history, on which he had employed, for twenty years, what leisure he could command, was now at press, and excited, as might be supposed, a considerable share of interest and attention. Out of a desire to see it, and also to inquire after his health, his cousin, Thomas Buchanan, together with Andrew and James Melville then at St. Andrews, paid him a visit; in his account of which, the latter has related a circumstance which strikingly displays his strength of mind, and decision of character, even to the last. On requesting him to alter a passage, at which they thought the King might be offended, he replied by the question, "Tell me if I have told the truth." "Yes," said his cousin, "I think so." "Then," said he, "I will abide his feud, and all his kin's: pray, pray to God for me, and let Him direct all."

This visit he survived about a twelvemonth, and it would have been gratifying to know, whether he ever received any mark of gratitude or kindness from his royal pupil during the whole of his protracted illness; presumptions are against it. Thaumus informs us, that James required his preceptor to retract what he had written with so much freedom respecting the Queen his mother, and leave to posterity some formal testimony of his compunction. He at first returned an evasive answer, but being afterwards importuned by re-

* This tract, after having long struggled against ignorance and prejudice, has at length obtained the praise which it merits. "The science," says Sir James Macintosh, "which teaches the rights of man, the eloquence that kindles the spirit of freedom, had for ages been buried with the other monuments of the wisdom, and relics of the genius of antiquity. But the revival of letters first unlocked only to a few the sacred fountain. The necessary labours of criticism and lexicography occupied the earlier scholars, and some time elapsed before the spirit of antiquity was transfused into its admirers. The first man of that period, who united elegant learning to original and masculine thought, was Buchanan; and he, too, seems to have been the first scholar who caught from the ancients the noble flame of republican enthusiasm. This praise is merited by his neglected, though incomparable tract, *De jure Regni*, in which the principles of popular politics, and the maxims of a free government, are delivered with a precision, and enforced with an energy, which no former age had equalled, and no succeeding has surpassed."

peated messages, he made this final declaration :—That he could not recal what he had written in the full conviction of its truth ; but that after his decease, it would be in the King's power to adopt such measures with regard to his writings as he might judge expedient. He, however, admonished him to proceed with mature deliberation ; and to reflect, that although God had intrusted supreme power to kings, yet that truth, which derives its strength from God, is as superior to their control as God is superior to man.

Tradition adds, that about this time, in one of the several messages he sent to him, the King required his presence at court, within twenty days, under pain of his displeasure ; but that he, finding his death approaching, sent him back a letter of admonition relative to the government of his kingdom, and well-being of his people ; and told him, that he could run the hazard of his Majesty's displeasure without danger ; for that “ by the time limited, he would be where few kings or great men should be honoured to enter.” At reading which, it is said, the King wept.

It is uncertain whether he lived to see his great work published ; he was, however, spared the pain of seeing the attempts of his ungrateful pupil to suppress it, and what would have been more galling to his virtuous spirit, the sycophancy of a Scottish Parliament seconding the wishes of an undisguised, but happily a weak despot, in a country, heretofore the land of freedom. He expired on the morning of Friday, the 28th of September, 1582, a little before five o'clock, at the age of seventy-six years, and nearly eight months ; his last moments were tranquil, and when visited by John Davidson, he expressed his sole reliance to be upon the blood of Christ. He was buried on Saturday, in the Grey Friars' church-yard, a great company of the faithful attending his funeral ; and he who had raised an imperishable monument to the name of Scotland, has been allowed to remain without any other than a ‘Through-stone’ to mark his grave, of which the inscription, if it ever had one, was illegible more than a century ago. An obelisk, however, has lately been raised by subscription, to his memory, at the village of Killearn.

His whole property at his death consisted of one hundred pounds, arrears, due upon his pension of Crossraguell ; and it is said he was buried at the expense of the city of Edinburgh, having, before his decease, ordered his servants to distribute to the poor a small sum he had in his house, and which was too trifling for any other purpose.

A skull, so thin as to be transparent, is still shown in the Edinburgh museum, as that of Buchanan, and is usually contrasted with that of an idiot's, which is remarkably thick ; its history, however, is somewhat doubtful.

“ Buchanan,” says an eloquent living writer, “ shared, with his most eminent compatriots, a fate to which his high talents and exemplary virtues equally entitled him ; he was loved with the fondest enthusiasm by his friends, and followed with the keenest animosity by his enemies ; for his friends were the friends of virtue, and his traducers a crowd of court sycophants, whose hatred is his highest praise.

His countenance and manners were somewhat austere, but his heart was warm and kind; his conversation fascinating. He possessed, in an uncommon degree, the power of attracting around him the most eminent men of the countries in which he resided, and the still more uncommon faculty of retaining their admiration and friendship. His integrity was unbending, and his veracity unimpeachable. He was a patriot in the purest sense of the word. Perceiving early in life the necessity, he shared in the dangers of the Reformation, and having carefully examined, he ardently embraced the doctrines of the Reformed. His piety seems to have been sincere and solid; it accompanied him through life, and supported him in death.

As a Latin poet, he was styled, by his friend Stephanus, the first of the age in which he lived, and all his cotemporaries acknowledged this supremacy, which their posterity have confirmed. As a political writer, he stands distinguished not more for the boldness than the soundness of his opinions, and if he was vehement, the errors which he combated were strongly intrenched behind prejudice and interest, and would have mocked the assault of a puny arm. As a Historian, his eloquence is unequalled among modern, and he rivals rather than imitates the most splendid of ancient, writers. If he had a bias, it was uniformly on the side of virtue and freedom; nor is his indignation ever pointed but against tyranny, irreligion, and vice.

He has been accused of ingratitude to Mary, but it remains to be proved that she ever did more than pay him for his services; and it is certain that, till he believed her guilty of murder and adultery, he remained her friend; and his having been at one time her classical tutor, however this might aggravate the poignancy of his feelings on her fall, could never be a sufficient reason to an honest man for becoming the apologist of conduct, which his duty to his country compelled him to condemn."

"He was a man," says Sir James Melvil, "of notable endowments, great learning, and an excellent Latin poet; he was much honoured in foreign countries, pleasant in conversation, into which he happily introduced short moral maxims, which his invention readily supplied him with upon any emergency."* His works that are now extant make two folio volumes. The pamphlets, going under the title of the Witty Exploits of George Buchanan, seem to be spurious; although it is certain he pronounced many witty sayings, of which a great number never were committed to writing.

* The most useful for the present times are about to be published, uniform with this work, and will form part of the series of "PEOPLE'S EDITIONS."

JOHN ERSKINE, BARON OF DUN.

It might well be deemed unpardonable, in a work of this kind, to omit all notice of a man who is only second amongst the laymen by whom the reformation from popery was accomplished or promoted.

JOHN ERSKINE, Baron of Dun, in the shire of Angus, was born at the family seat near Montrose, in the year 1508 or 1509. His father was a descendant of the Earls of Marr; his mother a daughter of William, the first Lord Ruthven. He received his literary education, most probably, in the university of Aberdeen; and, according to custom, completed it by travelling abroad, and attending, for some time, in one or other of the foreign universities. In the opinion of George Buchanan, "he was a man of great learning."

After his father's death, he was employed, as the other barons then were, in administering justice in the county to which he belonged, and occasionally assisting in the meetings of parliament. He was besides almost constantly chosen provost of the neighbouring town of Montrose.

At an early period of his life he became a convert from popery; but the precise manner in which his conversion was accomplished is not now known. Knox says of him, that "he was one whom God in those days had marvellously illuminated." Some time prior to that year, he had been eminently useful in the conversion of David Straiton, who suffered death, as a martyr, at Edinburgh, August 27th, 1534.

The castle of Dun was indeed, as a sanctuary, always open to protestant preachers and professors. While they chose to remain in it, they were protected against their persecuting enemies, and enjoyed Christian fellowship with one another. Mr. Erskine and his protestant associates, in their private meetings, worshipped God, read and expounded the scriptures, and piously exhorted one another. Long before he became a regular minister among the reformers, he was much employed as an exhorter. And, it may be observed, that, even after the reformation of religion was established, there was kept up in the church, for many years, an order of men who were called, "Exhorters." He also acted in a very friendly manner to George Wishart. Being provost of Montrose, he easily procured him the appointment of master of the grammar school in that town.

But while Mr. Erskine was attending to the affairs of religion, he did not neglect the duties which he owed to the public, as a magistrate and military knight. In that war with England, which began in September, 1547, and lasted nearly two years, the English ships infested the east coast of Scotland. Some of them were sent towards the town of Montrose, for the purpose of pillage and devastation. They cast anchor out of sight of the town, intending to ad-

vance after it was dark. But the mariners, imprudently for themselves, but providentially for the safety of the people of the town, put up some lights in their ships as they were advancing nearer, which occasioned an alarm. Mr. Erskine, being provost, immediately attended. He commanded that all the inhabitants who were able, should take arms quickly, and with as little noise as possible. He divided them into three companies. The first he stationed behind an earthen rampart, which had been before raised for the defence of the town. The second, which consisted of such persons as wore light armour, and were expert in the use of bows and arquebuses, he took under his own immediate leading, and advanced with them towards the shore. The third, which was composed of servants, apprentices, and a promiscuous multitude, he ordered to wait behind a neighbouring hill.

When the enemies were descending from their ships, he and his troops sharply assailed them with missile weapons. He found it necessary in the conflict to draw them towards the rampart, where the party stationed behind it suddenly issued forth, and all were engaged in close combat. The invaders, however, did not yet retire. But daylight soon appearing, they beheld a more numerous band, with colours displayed, coming against them from behind the neighbouring hill. Afraid of being surrounded, they fled to their ships; but were so hastily pursued, that, though about eighty men had landed, scarcely a third part of them made their escape.

In the end of harvest 1555, Knox, having arrived from Geneva, found in Edinburgh, Mr. Erskine and one or two ministers, who, with some pious persons in that city, both men and women, were in use to meet in private houses, for the purposes of religious worship and spiritual conversation. It was at supper, in the Laird of Dun's lodgings in Edinburgh, that those who were there present, resolved, that, to whatever danger they might be exposed, they would wholly discontinue their attendance on the popish mass; and, when a protestant minister could be obtained, would have the sacrament of our Lord's supper administered to them in the same plain manner in which it was given in the reformed churches abroad. Mr. Erskine having left Edinburgh for his family seat of Dun, Knox, at his request, followed him thither, and staid with him about a month, where he was daily exercised in preaching the gospel, and was resorted to by the principal men in that part of the country. In the ensuing summer, Knox went again to Dun, and was gratified in dispensing the communion to almost all the gentlemen of the county of Mearns, who promised to oppose idolatry to the utmost of their power.

Though Mr. Erskine's religious principles were well known, it appears that the popish bishops thought him a man too powerful for them to meddle with; and he still proceeded in his endeavours to promote the reformation.

December 3d, 1557, he, along with the Earl of Argyll, the Earl of Glencairn, and some other noble and eminent persons, subscribed a covenant, in which they bound themselves in the presence of God, to advance the protestant religion, and to maintain in safety its mi-

nisters and its professors, who were now, for the first time, called the *congregation*, by all the means in their power, even to the hazard of their lives.

The parliament, which met December 14th, 1557, appointed him to go to the court of France, as one of the commissioners from Scotland, to witness the young queen's marriage with the dauphin, and to settle the terms of the marriage contract. He sailed thither in February, 1558, and, with those of them who survived that fatal embassy, returned and landed at Montrose in October following.

On their arrival, they found that the reformation of religion in Scotland had been unexpectedly forwarded by the cruelty and imprudence of the popish clergy. During their absence, Walter Mill had suffered martyrdom, which had occasioned so great a fermentation in the minds of persons of all ranks, that Spottiswood, who was well informed of these matters, says, "the death of this martyr was the very death of popery in this realm."*

The protestants were now increased in number, and consequently in courage. They were soon afterwards farther encouraged by the death of the English queen, Mary; which happened November 15th, 1558. Her sister and successor, Elizabeth, being a protestant princess, the reformed in Scotland hoped to receive her support; and afterwards they were not disappointed in their expectations.

* This instance seems to verify the saying, that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." There were many circumstances, in the case of Mill, calculated to create a more than ordinary sensation in the public mind. His advanced age, his venerable appearance, his apparently feeble and exhausted frame, the unexpected vigour which he displayed in defending, and his unyielding constancy in adhering to, the truth, above all, the revolting and excruciating death, to which he was doomed, in being burnt alive; must of necessity have made a deep impression, on every heart, in which the least humanity or tenderness was still to be found. But yet it is easy to conceive, that all this might have happened, without his death being so influential, in promoting the cause of reformation, as it is said to have been. The extraordinary effects which attended it, are to be accounted for, by a reference not to the character of the event, but rather to the state of matters, at the particular juncture, in which it took place. It was because the principles of the reformed faith, were widely spread, and deeply rooted amongst the inhabitants of Scotland, that the Prelates had recourse to such severities, in attempting to counteract it; and it was just for the same reason, that such severities had the very contrary effect, and instead of counteracting, tended more and more to confirm and to promote it. It is only in such circumstances, indeed, that persecution has a tendency to further a religion. Otherwise, its tendency is decidedly the reverse. Some persons inimical to the Christian faith, have attempted, from the above mentioned axiom, to deny, that its prevalence in spite of persecution forms any test of its truth. It must be plain, on the slightest consideration, however, that the direct influence of persecution, is to crush an incipient faith, and that it is only when against such an influence, it has made a certain progress, or to vary the metaphor, has taken a firm root, that the blood of martyrs can promote its growth, by watering the soil in which it is planted.

The queen regent of Scotland, who had always acted chiefly by the advice of the popish bishops, and other dignified clergy, was now addressed more boldly than before by the protestant lords, and others who favoured the reformation, in behalf of the free exercise of their religion. Mr. Erskine was one of these petitioners, but seems to have been more moderate in his demands than some of his associates. Buchanan tells us, that he expostulated with the queen regent and her council; humbly beseeching, that no harm should be done to their protestant subjects; and that, at least, they should be allowed to pray to God in their religious assemblies, in their own native language. But so far from the toleration requested, being granted, all the protestant ministers being enjoined, by public proclamation, under pain of rebellion, to appear at Stirling on the 10th day of May, 1559, then and there to be tried for their reputed heresy, and schismatical conduct; the lords, and other chief men of the protestant party, seriously consulted with one another; and it was suggested and agreed to, that "the gentlemen of each county should accompany their preachers to the place of trial." The common people also wishing to show their affection to the ministers, and to make an open confession of their faith, met in great numbers at Perth. Mr. Erskine was solicitous that the ministers should be delivered from their impending danger, and solicitous also that peace should be preserved. He proposed to the congregation, that, if they would wait at Perth a few days, he himself would go forward to Stirling, where the queen regent then was, and endeavour to give her better advice than she had received from her popish counsellors. His proposal was readily accepted; and it has also been said, that, by a private messenger, she had signified her desire of having a conference with him.

In the mean time, Knox had so far obeyed the summons in the public proclamation, and complied with the desires of his friends, as to come from Geneva to Scotland. He arrived at Edinburgh, May 2d; and after two days, went to Dundee, and from thence to Perth, determined to share the same treatment with his brethren. The arrival of a man of his bold spirit, and powerful eloquence, was a most favourable circumstance at this critical season.

Letters were brought from Mr. Erskine at Stirling, containing the agreeable intelligence that the queen regent had acceded to his advice; that the ministers were not to be tried, and therefore needed not to come forward; and that the people should be persuaded to retire peaceably to their own habitations. In consequence of this intelligence, many of the people went home, and thus nothing finally decisive of the great cause of religion happened. But it was the will of Providence, that the reformation in Scotland should be effected in a more speedy manner than by gradually gaining the assent of an opposite party.

A suspicion was conceived that Mr. Erskine, who was a man of great integrity, and therefore less apt to suspect the hypocrisy of the queen regent and her council, might possibly have been deceived by false promises. The barons and gentlemen, therefore, resolved to wait at Perth, till the 10th day of May

should be past, and then they would see more clearly what course they ought to take. On the evening of the 10th of May, Mr. Erskine arrived in haste from Stirling, with the bad news that the queen regent had changed her mind; that the ministers were denounced as rebels; and that all persons were forbidden, under pain of treason, to assist, to comfort, or receive them. He had not found it safe to continue any longer at Stirling; and added, in his conference with the chiefs, that it now behoved them wisely to consider what they should do. All blamed the queen regent for breaking her promise. The congregation and their leaders, as might well have been expected, were filled with indignation at the deceit which had been practised. They considered that to obey the injunction of having no communication with the protestant teachers, would be the same as to return to their former ignorance and superstition, and to give up the important cause in which they had long been engaged, the success of which was now demanded by the general voice of the nation.

During the civil war which now commenced, the Laird of Dun occasionally gave his assistance as a temporal baron. But, before the conclusion of it, he piously relinquished his armour, and all military achievements, by becoming a professed preacher, or minister of the gospel. He was probably urged to this choice by Knox, and other protestant ministers, who greatly needed so able an associate in their labours. In the former part of his life, he had earnestly desired to see a protestant church, and now, that it was upon the point of being obtained, he was willing to bear an office in it. His qualifications for the ministry need not be mentioned. It was known that he had already exercised his talents privately as a teacher, and his zealous endeavours in that way, had, in some instances, been blessed with remarkable success. His mildness of temper, and uprightness of conduct, his knowledge of religion, and his personal godliness, are acknowledged by all.

The civil war being ended by the death of the queen regent, which happened, June 10th, 1560, and the French troops, who had assisted her, having been sent out of the kingdom, devout thanksgivings were rendered unto God, July 19th, in the High Church of Edinburgh, by the ministers, noblemen, and other pious Protestants, who were then in that city. A parliament, or convention of the estates, was immediately held, who, at the request of the ministers, and because of the present necessity of the church, began their proceedings by appointing a committee of lords, barons, and burgesses, to distribute the few ministers whom they then had, to the places where their services were most required. The committee nominated some of them to the chief cities; and as the first book of discipline was now produced, they, agreeably to the plan proposed in that book, nominated five who should act in the capacity of ecclesiastical superintendants. Mr. Erskine was one of the five, and the district assigned him were the counties of Angus and Mearns.

The first general assembly met in December following The num-

ber of ministers was necessarily small, when compared with that of the lay commissioners, whose aid in the beginning was most thankfully accepted. Acting as a supreme court, it ratified the nominations which had been made in the committee of parliament ; and in their first session fully sanctioned Mr. Erskine in his clerical character, by declaring, in the sententious manner of those times, " that John Erskine of Dun was apt and able to minister." From this period, his usual designation was, " John Erskine of Dun, knight, superintendant of Angus and Mearns."

The appointment of these superintendants was judged to be necessary from the then infant state of the church. They were endowed with a kind of episcopal authority ; were elected for life ; but were responsible for their conduct to the general assembly. By their means, it was hoped that vice and idolatry would be more easily suppressed, and the parishes more quickly supplied with well qualified protestant ministers, exhorters, and schoolmasters. From the view given of the office in the first book of discipline, it appears, that the work belonging to it was exceedingly laborious. More was required from a superintendant than what any one man, without the assistance of commissaries, could perform. Hence the good men, when blamed in the assembly, for some matters which were wrong in their extensive provinces, were often under the necessity of saying, that the things complained of, they could not prevent or redress. So far from being ambitious of the honour annexed to their office, or of any pecuniary profit which they derived from it, we find Mr. Erskine, in four several Assemblies, complaining, with others, of the burden it imposed, and desiring to be freed from it.

In addition to his other honours, Mr. Erskine was at least five times moderator of the general assembly. But free from that arrogance of mind and behaviour which is sometimes ascribed to dignified clergymen, his mildness and simplicity of character and manners still remained unchanged. As superintendant of Angus and Mearns, and as having a special commission from the general assembly, he, in June, 1569, performed, what he must have reckoned a very disagreeable work, namely, the deposition from their offices of five members of King's College, Aberdeen, who still adhered to their popish principles. In justice to these men, it may be observed, that they were not charged with any thing immoral or bad in their conduct, further than being bigotted Papists. This fault unfitted them for being employed as teachers of young persons, who might have been led by their influence to favour or embrace wrong principles of religion. It was, therefore, justly esteemed, however exemplary they might have been in other respects, as in itself a sufficient ground for their deprivation.

In some of Wodrow's collections, a circumstance is mentioned, as belonging to this period in Mr. Erskine's life, on the authority of two ministers of the church, which we insert in his own words. It relates to the death of the " good regent," which happened 23d January, 1570: " The regent had been over in Lochlevin with the Earl of Northumberland, whom he had caught, after the rebellion raised by him

and by other persons in England, had been suppressed, and kept him as a prisoner in Lochleven, about the 2d of January, 1570. He came from thence, and was lodging with the superintendant of Angus in the house of Dun ; where they yet show a large window at the end of the long hall, which looked out to a pleasant green. The Earl of Moray and the Laird of Dun were standing in that window, conversing closely upon important matters, with their faces looking towards the green. And while the earl was talking, the superintendant suddenly looked about to him, and, with tears in his eyes, after he had been silent for some time, at length interrupted the regent with these words : ‘ Ah ! woes me, my lord, for what I perceive is to befall you shortly ; for in a fortnight’s time, you will be murdered.’ Such hints of future things were not uncommon among our reformers. The regent had several other notices of his hazard, and too little regarded them.”

In 1571, Mr. Erskine showed his zeal for the liberties of the Church, in a long letter which he wrote to his chief, the Earl of Mar, who was then regent of the kingdom. Both Calderwood, and Petrie, have given large extracts from it. His concluding words are : “ I lament from my very heart, a great disorder used at Stirling, at the last parliament, in creating bishops, placing them, and giving them a vote in parliament as bishops, in despite of the kirk, and in high contempt of God, the kirk opposing itself against that misrule.”

Several letters passed betwixt the regent and him upon this subject : at last it was agreed that he should correspond, and hold conferences with some other of the leading persons in the Church, for the purpose of bringing the government of it into a more regular form.

So entirely did he devote himself to his clerical duties, that he desisted, at least in a great measure, from acting in his capacity as a baron. Petrie relates, that “ from an act under the privy signet, of date November 21st, 1574, it appears, that, so long as he had been superintendant, he had not been in the sheriff court, though he was a baron. He was indemnified for the time past, and exemption was granted to him for the time to come, during his continuance in the office of superintendant.”

It was about this time that the Assembly employed commissioners for compiling what is called the Second Book of Discipline. Mr. Erskine was one of them. Each of them had a point of Church government allotted to him, as the subject of which he was to treat. Their work was carried on with great care and attention, with frequent references to the Assembly, and conferences with one another. In the Assembly, 1577, Mr. Erskine complained that the head assigned to him was, in his judgment, obscure ; the Assembly therefore requested him, to confer with the other commissioners the next day, at seven o’clock in the morning, in order that his doubts might be removed. There had been disputes among the commissioners concerning three points, viz. the office and duties of lay deacons ; some particulars relating to divorces ; and the right of patronage. Per-

haps it was in one or other of these points that he had perceived some obscurity. But in 1579, the book was presented to the Assembly complete, and was approved. It was then, and is still considered, as containing a scriptural model, and true representation, of what should be the government of a presbyterian Church.

Mr. Erskine was not one of those persons of whom no man has spoken evil. Calderwood blames him for having, in his old age, in the year 1585, shewed too great a complaisance to some court measures, which were justly esteemed injurious to the liberties of the Church. But his words in censure of him, are a great deal too harsh. Mr. Erskine required only such a qualified submission as had been before subscribed by many excellent ministers, and which they had published for the information and satisfaction of their brethren. Petrie, when speaking of this affair, says, that he had seen among Erskine's papers a mitigated form of submission, which the king, as he expresses it, "had taken the pains to pen with his own hand," and had declared that a subscription to it would be sufficient. The principal qualifying expression in this mitigated form was, "In as far as is agreeable to the word of God."

Mr. Erskine was yet able to attend, or at least had work assigned to him, in the Assemblies which met, May, 1586, and June, 1587. In the first of these, he was appointed, with the king's consent, to visit, for a special purpose, the counties of Angus and Mearns. In the other, he and four other ministers were commissioned to make a collection of the acts of parliament which favoured the protestant religion, or tended to the abolition of popery and idolatry, with a view to their being more strictly executed; and also a collection of such other acts of parliament as were prejudicial to the privileges of a true presbyterian church, that means might be used for obtaining their repeal. He was, moreover, appointed one of the commissioners who should attend the parliament to settle some matters amicably which related to the church.

In the Assembly which met in February, 1588, he was not present. His infirmities were now increasing with his years, and he died March 12th, 1591, in the eighty-second year of his age; leaving behind him a numerous posterity, and of himself and his virtues, a memory that shall never be forgotten.

He was the last of the five superintendants. No successors were appointed to them; for pre-byteries or elderships, as they were then called, in proportion as they became generally erected, answered all the ecclesiastical purposes for which the superintendants had been originally chosen.

The character given of him by Queen Mary, is not to be disregarded. She had often been desired to hear protestant ministers preach, and to be present at their debates with learned men among the papists. Being in Edinburgh, May 13th, 1565, she sent for three superintendants, who happened to be then in that city, and told them, as Knox relates, "that albeit she was not persuaded of the truth of any religion, but of the one in which she had been brought up, yet she would be content to hear public preaching, out of

the mouths of such preachers as pleased her majesty. And she said, that above all others, she would gladly hear the superintendant of Angus, Sir John Erskine, for he was a mild and sweet-natured man, and of true honesty and uprightness."

Archbishop Spottiswood, in his younger years, both before and after his father's death, had good opportunities of being personally acquainted with Mr. Erskine; I shall, therefore, add his testimony to those already given: "He was a man," says he, "famous for the services performed to his prince and country, and worthy to be remembered for his travails in the church, which out of the zeal which he had for the truth, he undertook, preaching and advancing it by all means. Before the reformation, his house was to those who in that time were called heretics, a special place of refuge; afterwards, such was the scarcity of ministers, that he took upon him the charge, and was chosen with the first, to have the oversight of the churches in these north parts, which he governed to his death most wisely, and with great authority, giving no way to the novations introduced, nor suffering them to take place within the bounds of his charge whilst he lived. A baron he was of good rank, wise, learned, liberal, of singular courage; who, for divers resemblances, may well be said to have been another Ambrose."

ROBERT ROLLOCK.

PRINCIPAL ROLLOCK, for so he is usually called, was descended from the ancient family of the Livingstons. He was born about the year 1555. His father, David Rollock, sent him to Stirling, to be educated for the university, under Thomas Buchanan; where his genius, modesty, and sweetness of temper, soon procured for him the particular friendship of his master, a friendship which subsisted ever after. From this school, he went to the university of St. Andrews, where he prosecuted his studies for four years; at the end of which, his proficiency was such, that he was chosen professor of philosophy. The duties of this office he discharged with applause for other four years, until, about the year 1585, when he was invited by the magistrates of Edinburgh to a chair in the university of that place, lately founded by King James VI, and complied with their invitation, at the earnest desire of James Lawson, the successor of Knox. His reputation, as a teacher, soon drew a number of students to that college, and it was soon afterwards much enlarged. At first he had the principal weight of academical business laid upon him; but in course of time, other professors were chosen from among the scholars which he educated. After this his chief employment was to exercise the office of Principal, by superintending the several classes, observing the proficiency of the scholars, composing such differences as would arise among them, and keeping every one to his

duty. Thus was the principality of that college, in his time, a useful institution, and not what it is now, little better than a mere sinecure. Every morning, he called the students together, and prayed with them; and one day in the week, he explained some passage of scripture to them; in the close of which, he was frequently very warm in his exhortations. This wrought more reformation upon them than all the laws which were made, or the discipline which was exercised besides. After the lecture was over, it was his custom to reprove such as had been guilty of any misdemeanour through the week. He was likewise very attentive to such as were advanced in their studies, and intended for the ministry. His care was productive of much good to the church. He was as diligent in his own studies, as he was careful to promote those of others. Notwithstanding all this business in the university, he preached every Lord's day in the church, with such fervour and demonstration of the Spirit, as to become the instrument of converting many. About this time, he also wrote several commentaries on different portions of scripture. His exposition of the epistles to the Romans and Ephesians, coming into the hands of the learned Beza, he, in a letter to a friend, declared it to be an incomparable treasure; which for its judiciousness, brevity, and elegance of style, had few equals.

He was chosen Moderator of the Assembly held at Dundee in 1567, in which matters were transacted not altogether in favour of presbytery; but this cannot be imputed to him; although Calderwood, in his history, calls him "a man simple in church matters." He was one of those commissioned by the Assembly to wait on his Majesty, about seating the churches of Edinburgh;* but in the mean time, he became ill, and was confined to his house. Afterwards, at the entreaty of his friends, he went to the country for the benefit of the air: at first he seemed as if growing better, but his distemper soon returned upon him with greater violence than before. He was now confined to bed. He committed his wife (for he had no children) to the care of his friends. He desired two noblemen who came to visit him, to go to the King, and entreat him, in his name, to take care of religion, and preserve it to the end and to esteem and comfort the pastors of the church; for that the ministry of Christ, though low and base in the eyes of men, should yet at length shine with great glory. When the ministers of Edinburgh came to him, he spoke of the sincerity of his intentions in every thing he had done, in discharging the duties of the office with which he had been vested. As night drew on his disease increas-

* The seating of the churches is a protestant improvement. There was little occasion for seats in them in popish times, because there was little preaching; and the service, such as it was, required such frequent prostration, that pews would have been an incumbrance. It was a long time after the Reformation before the churches were generally seated; and persons who found it inconvenient to stand during the sermon, took stools with them. It was one of these stools that was thrown by a woman, in the church of Edinburgh, at the head of the minister who first attempted to read prayers at her lug.

ed; and together with it, his religious fervor was likewise augmented. When the physicians were preparing some medicines, he said, "Thou, Lord, wilt heal me;" and then began praying for the pardon of his sins through Christ; and professed that he counted all things but loss for the knowledge of Christ. He prayed farther, that he might have the presence of God in his departure, saying, "Hitherto have I seen thee darkly, through the glass of thy word: O Lord, grant that I may have the eternal enjoyment of thy countenance, which I have so much desired and longed for." He then spoke of the resurrection and eternal life; after which he blessed and exhorted every one present, according as their respective circumstances required.

The day following, when the magistrates of Edinburgh came to see him, he exhorted them to take care of the university, and nominated his successor. He recommended his wife to their patronage, declaring that he had not laid up one half-penny of his stipend, and therefore hoping they would provide for her; to which request they assented, and promised to see her comfortably supplied. After this he said, "I bless God that I have all my senses entire, but my heart is in heaven; and, Lord Jesus, why shouldst thou not have it? It has been my care, all my life to dedicate it to thee, I pray thee, take it, that I may live with thee for ever." Then, after a little sleep, he awakened, crying, "Come, Lord Jesus, put an end to this miserable life; haste, Lord, and tarry not, Christ hath redeemed me, not unto a frail and momentary life, but unto a life that is eternal. Come, Lord Jesus, and give me that life to which thou hast redeemed me." Some of the people present bewailing their condition when he should be taken away, he said unto them, "I have gone through all the degrees of this life, and am come to my end, why should I go back again; help me, O Lord, that I may go through this last degree, with thy assistance." When some told him, that the next day was the Sabbath, he said, "O Lord, shall I begin my eternal Sabbath from thy Sabbath here?" Next morning, feeling his death approaching, he sent for Mr. Balcanquhal: who in prayer with him, having desired that the Lord, if he pleased, would spare his life, for the good of the Church: he said, "I am weary of this life; all my desire is, that I may enjoy the celestial life, that is hid with Christ in God." And, a little after, "Haste, Lord, and do not tarry, I am weary both of nights and days. Come, Lord Jesus, that I may come to thee: Break these eye-strings, and give me others. I desire to be dissolved, and to be with thee. O Lord Jesus, thrust thy hand into my body, and take my soul to thyself! O my sweet Lord, set this soul of mine free, that she may enjoy her husband." When one of the bystanders said, "Sir, let nothing trouble you, for now your Lord makes haste," he said, "O welcome message; would to God my funeral might be to-morrow." And thus he continued in heavenly meditation and prayer, till he resigned up his spirit to God, in the 54th year of his age, anno 1598.

His works are a Commentary on some select Psalms, on the Prophecy of Daniel, and the gospel of John, with its Harmony. He

wrote also on the Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, Thessalonians, and Galatians ; and an Analysis of the Epistles to the Romans and the Hebrews, with respect to effectual calling.

JOHN CRAIG.

JOHN CRAIG was a man of considerable learning and singular abilities. He was born in the year 1542, and soon after lost his father in the battle of Flodden, which proved fatal to so many families in Scotland. After finishing his education at the university of St. Andrews, he went to England, and became tutor to the family of Lord Dacres ; but war having broken out between England and Scotland, he returned to his native country, and entered into the order of Dominican Friars. The clergy were, at the time, eagerly employed in making inquisition for Lutherans, and owing either to the circumstance of his having been in England, or to his having dropped some expressions respecting religion, which were deemed too free, he fell under the suspicion of heresy, and was thrown into prison. The accusation was found to be groundless, and he was set at liberty. But although he was still attached to the Roman Catholic religion, the ignorance and bigotry of the clergy gave him such a disgust at his native country, that he left it, in 1537, and having remained a short time in England, went to France, and from that to Italy. At the recommendation of the celebrated Cardinal Pole, he was admitted among the Dominicans in the city of Bologna, and was soon raised to an honourable employment in that body. In the library of the Inquisition, which was attached to the monastery, he found Calvin's Institutes. Being fond of books, he determined to read that work, and the consequence was, that he became a complete convert to the reformed opinions. In the warmth of his first impressions, he could not restrain himself from imparting the change of his sentiments to his associates, and he must have soon fallen a sacrifice to the vigilant guardians of the faith, had not the friendship of a father in the monastery saved him. The old man, who was also a native of Scotland, and secretly inclined to the reformed opinions, represented the danger to which he exposed himself, by avowing such tenets in that place, and advised him, if he was fixed in his views, to return immediately to some protestant country. With this prudent advice he complied so far as to procure his discharge from the monastery.

On leaving the monastery of Bologna, Craig entered as a tutor into the family of a neighbouring nobleman, who had embraced the protestant principles ; but he had not resided long in it, when he was delated for heresy, seized by the familiars of the Inquisition, and carried to Rome. After being confined nine months, in a noisome dungeon, he was brought to trial, and condemned to be burned,

along with some others, on the 20th of August, 1559. On the evening previous to their appointed execution, the reigning pontiff, Paul IV, died, and, according to an accustomed practice on such occasions, the prisons in Rome were all thrown open. Those who were confined for debt, and other civil offences, were liberated, but heretics, after being allowed to go without the walls of their prison, were again thrown into confinement. But a tumult having been excited that night in the city, Craig and his companions effected their escape, and took refuge in an inn, at a small distance from Rome. They had not been long there, when they were followed by a company of soldiers, to apprehend them. On entering the house, the captain looked stedfastly on Craig's countenance, and, taking him aside, asked him if he recollected of once relieving a poor wounded soldier, in the vicinity of Bologna. Craig was in too great confusion to remember the circumstance. "But I recollect it," replied the captain, "and I am the man whom you relieved, and providence has now put it into my power to return the kindness which you showed to a distressed stranger—you are at liberty. Your companions I must take along with me, but for your sake I will show them every favour in my power." He then gave him what money he had upon him, with directions how to make his escape.*

"Another accident," says Archbishop Spottiswood, "befel him, which I should scarcely relate, so incredible it seemeth, if to many of good place he had not often repeated it as a singular testimony of God's care of him." In the course of his journey through Italy, while he avoided the public roads, and took a circuitous route to escape from pursuit, the money which he had received from the grateful soldier failed him. Having laid himself down by the side of a wood to ruminate on his condition, he perceived a dog approaching him, with a purse in his teeth. It occurred to him, it had been sent by some evil disposed person, who was in the wood, and wished to pick a quarrel with him. He therefore endeavoured to drive it away, but the animal continuing to fawn upon him, he at last took the purse, and found in it a sum of money, which enabled him to prosecute his journey. Having reached Vienna, and announced himself as a Dominican, he was employed to preach before the Emperor Maximilian. His Majesty was so much pleased that he was desirous of retaining him; but the new Pope, Pius IV, having heard of his reception at the Austrian capital, applied to have him sent back to Rome, as a condemned heretic, upon which the Emperor dismissed him, with a safe conduct. When he arrived in England, in 1560,

* Thus we see Mr. Craig escaped; and by a series of singular interpositions of Providence, he at last got safe to his native country; where, though not an originator, he was singularly useful in helping forward the happy Reformation, of which we at this day are enjoying the benefit. Not to speak of the crown of righteousness which such a faithful servant of Christ, and a martyr in purpose, though saved from a violent death, is now honoured to wear, how nobly does he appear even in the esteem of his fellow-men, in comparison with the poor old cowardly friar, who, though convinced of the truth, was afraid to confess it, and who had not the courage "to serve his Maker here on earth?" W. M'G

and was informed of the establishment of the reformed religion in his own country, he immediately repaired to Scotland, and was admitted into the ministry. Having, in a great measure, forgotten his native language during an absence of twenty-four years, he, for a short time, preached in Latin to some of the learned, in Magdalene's chapel. He was afterwards appointed minister of the parish of Canongate, where he had not officiated long till he was elected colleague to Knox.

Being thus settled minister of Edinburgh, he continued in the office many years, and met with many trials of his fortitude and fidelity. In 1564, having accompanied his illustrious colleague when brought before the council, he was called upon to give his opinion as to the question under dispute, which was the right of subjects to control their rulers, when they have been guilty of violating their oaths of office. This he did with much candour and boldness, relating the issue of a debate he had heard on the subject at Bologna. One of the courtiers having exclaimed, in reference to this, "Ye tell us what was done in Bologna; we are in a kingdom, and they are but a commonwealth," he answered, "My lord, my judgment is, that every kingdom is a commonwealth, or at least should be, albeit that every commonwealth is not a kingdom: and, therefore, I think, that in a kingdom no less diligence should be taken that laws be not violated than in a commonwealth, because the tyranny of princes, who continually reign in a kingdom, is more hurtful to the subjects than the misgovernment of those that from year to year are changed in free commonwealths." He added that the dispute to which he referred was conducted on general principles, applicable to all kingdoms and commonwealths, and the conclusion adopted was, that although laws contrary to the law of God, and to the true principles of government, had been introduced through the negligence of the people, or the tyranny of princes, yet the same people, or their posterity, had a right to demand that all things should be reformed, according to the original institution of kings and commonwealths.

In 1567, the Earl of Bothwell, having obtained a divorce from his lawful wife, preparatory to his marriage with Queen Mary, he was commanded to publish the banns of matrimony. He referred the order to the session in which he presided, and it was resolved, that intimation of the Sovereign's intention should be made on the three next days of preaching. But the next Sabbath, having declared that he had received such a command, he added, that he could not *in conscience* obey it, the marriage being altogether unlawfull, and that he was ready to declare his reasons for saying so to the parties if present. He was immediately sent for by Bothwell, to whom he declared his reasons with great boldness; and the next Lord's day, he told the people what he had said before the council, and took heaven and earth to witness, that he detested that scandalous marriage; and that he had discharged his duty to his conscience, and his God. Upon this, he was again called before the council, and reproved, as having exceeded the bounds of his calling;

but he boldly answered, that "the bounds of his commission were the word of God, right reason, and good laws, against which he had said nothing; and by all these offered to prove the said marriage scandalous," at this, however, he was stopped, and put out of the council. Of his whole conduct in regard to the queen's marriage, he gave in a narrative and defence to the assembly of 1567, and by that of 1569, was declared to have done his duty, as a faithful minister. Thus Mr. Craig continued, not only a firm friend to the Reformation, but a bold opposer of every encroachment made on the crown and dignity of the Lord Jesus.

About the year 1571, or 1572, whilst his colleague, on account of the prevalence of the queen's party, was obliged to seek refuge at St. Andrews, Craig seems to have differed with his congregation, who found fault with him, for what they thought temporizing during that period. In consequence of this they mutually agreed to separate. After preaching two years in Montrose, he removed to Aberdeen, where he acted as visitor of the churches in Brechin and Montrose, and was afterwards chosen minister to the royal household, a situation which he held till his death.*

In 1584, an act of parliament was made, that all ministers, masters of colleges, &c. should within forty-eight hours, compare and subscribe the act of parliament, respecting the king's power over all estates spiritual and temporal, and submit themselves to the bishops, &c. Upon this, Craig and some others, were called before the council and interrogated, how he could be so bold as to controvert this act? Craig answered, that they could not but find fault with what was repugnant to God's word: at which the Earl of Arran started upon his feet, and said, that they were too pert, that he would shave their heads, pare their nails, cut their toes, and make them an example unto all who should disobey the king's command, and his council's orders: and forthwith charged them to appear before the king, at Falkland, on the 4th of September following.

Upon their appearance at Falkland, they were again accused of transgressing the foresaid act of parliament, and disobeying the bishop's injunctions; when there arose some hot speeches betwixt Craig and the bishop of St. Andrews; at which the Earl of Arran spoke again most outrageously against him, whilst he coolly replied, that there had been as great men set up higher, that had been brought low. Arran rejoined, "I shall make thee, of a false friar, a true prophet," and sitting down on his knee, he said, "Now I am humbled." "Nay," said Mr. Craig; "mock the servants of God as thou wilt, God will not be mocked, but shall make thee find it in earnest, when thou shall be cast down from the high horse† of thy pride, and

* When informed that his majesty had made choice of Craig, the general assembly, July, 1580, "blessed the Lord, and praised the king for his zeal."—Row's Hist. of the Kirk.

† This is a proverbial expression, in common use to this day. When we see a man elevated in his own esteem, we say, "he is on his *high-horse*," and it does not require the spirit of prophecy to foretell his fall. The cause of Arran's death

humbled." This was fulfilled a few years after, when he was thrown off his horse with a spear, by James Douglas of Parkhead, killed, and his corpse exposed to dogs and swine before it was buried.

Mr. Craig was forthwith discharged from preaching any more in Edinburgh, and the bishop of St. Andrews was appointed to preach in his place ; but as soon as he entered the great church of Edinburgh, the whole congregation, except a few court parasites, left it. It was not long before Mr. Craig was restored to his place and office.

In 1591, when the Earl of Bothwell and his accomplices, on the 27th of December, came to the king and chancellor's chamber doors, with fire, and to the queen's with a hammer, in the palace of Holyroodhouse, with a design to seize the king, and chancellor, Mr. Craig, upon the 29th, preaching before the king, upon the two brazen mountains in Zechariah, said, "As the king had lightly regarded the many bloody shirts presented to him by his subjects craving justice, so, God, in his providence, had made a noise of crying, and fore-hammers to come to his own doors." The king would have the people to stay after sermon, that he might purge himself, and said, "If he had thought his hired servant (meaning Mr. Craig, who was his minister) would have dealt in that manner with him, he should not have dealt in that manner with him so long in his house." Mr. Craig, by reason of the throng, not hearing what he said, went away.

In 1595, Craig being quite worn out by his labours, and the infirmities of age, the king's commissioner presented some articles to the General Assembly ; in which, amongst other things, he craved, that, seeing he was awaiting the hour when God should please to call him, and was unable to serve any longer, and his Majesty designing to place John Duncanson (who it would appear was Craig's colleague at the time) with the prince, therefore, his highness desired an ordinance to be made, granting any two ministers he should choose. This was accordingly done ; and Craig died some time after, at the advanced age of 88, anno 1600.

He will appear, from these short memoirs, to have been a man of uncommon resolution and activity. He was employed in most part of the affairs of the Church during the reign of queen Mary, and in the beginning of that of her son. He compiled the National Covenant, and a Catechism commonly called Craig's Catechism, which was first printed by order of the Assembly, in 1591.

DAVID BLACK.

PREVIOUS to the year 1570, the religious struggle maintained in Scotland might be said to have been in honour of Christ's prophetic

gave Mr. Craig's words the appearance of a prediction ; but it was no more than one of those coincidences which often occur in the course of providence.

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cal and priestly office, against the errors and corruptions of paganism and popery. But from that period downward, it was more especially for the rights and prerogatives of his kingly office, that the zealous defenders of the faith were called upon to testify and suffer. Amongst those who stood forward in this cause, towards the end of the sixteenth century, a conspicuous place is certainly due to David Black. Of his previous history, little, at this distance of time, can now be ascertained. This, however, is of the less importance, as it is chiefly with his public conduct we have presently to do.

At the period in question, and for some time previous, he was colleague to the celebrated Andrew Melvill, as a minister of St. Andrews. He was remarkable for zeal and fidelity in the discharge of his duty, applying his doctrine closely to the corruptions of the age, whether prevailing among the highest or lowest of the people. In consequence of this, he was, in 1596, cited before the council for some expressions uttered in a sermon, alleged to strike against the king and court. But his brethren in the ministry thinking, that by such a procedure against him the spiritual government of the house of God was intended to be subverted, resolved, that he should decline answering the summons, and that, in the mean time, they should be preparing themselves to prove from the holy scriptures, that the judgment of all doctrine, in the first instance, belonged to the Church.

Accordingly, Mr. Black, on the 18th November 1596, gave in a declinature to the council, to this effect: That he was able to defend all that he had said; yet seeing his answering before them to that accusation, might be prejudicial to the liberties of the Church, and would be taken as an acknowledgment of his Majesty's jurisdiction in matters merely spiritual, he was constrained to decline that judiciary, 1. Because the Lord Jesus Christ had given him his word for a rule, and that therefore he could not fall under the civil law, but in so far as, after trial, he should be found to have passed from his instructions, which trial belonged only to the prophets, i. e. the ministers of the Church. 2. That the liberties of the Church, and discipline presently exercised, were confirmed by divers acts of parliament, and approved of by the Confession of Faith; that the office-bearers of the Church were now in the peaceable possession thereof; and that the question of his preaching ought first, according to the grounds and practices aforesaid, to be judged by the ecclesiastical senate, as the competent judges thereof in the first instance. This declinature, with a letter sent by the different presbyteries, was in a short time subscribed by between three and four hundred ministers, all assenting to and approving of it.

The commissioners of the General Assembly then sitting at Edinburgh, knowing that the king was displeased at this proceeding, sent some of their number to speak with his Majesty; to whom he answered, that if Mr. Black would pass from his declinature, he would pass from the summons; but this they would not consent to do. Upon this, therefore, the king caused summon Mr. Black again, on the 27th of November to a council to be held on the 30th. This

summons was given with sound of trumpet, and open proclamation, at the cross of Edinburgh: and the same day, the commissioners of the Assembly were ordered to depart thence in twenty-four hours, under pain of rebellion.

Before the day of Mr. Black's second appearance at the council, he prepared a still more explicit declinature, especially as it respected the king's supremacy, declaring, "that there are two jurisdictions in the realm, the one spiritual, and the other civil; the one respecting the conscience, and the other concerning external things: the one persuading by the spiritual sword, the other compelling by the temporal sword; the one spiritually procuring the edification of the Church, the other by justice procuring the peace and quiet of the commonwealth, which, being grounded in the light of nature, proceeds from God as he is Creator, and is so termed by an apostle,* but varying according to the constitution of men; the other above nature, grounded upon the grace of redemption, proceeding immediately from the gospel of Christ, the only King and only Head of his Church.† Therefore, in so far as he was one of the spiritual office-bearers, and had discharged his spiritual calling in some measure of grace and sincerity, he should not, and could not, lawfully be judged for preaching and applying the word of God, by any civil power, he being an ambassador and messenger of the Lord Jesus, having his commission from the King of kings, and all his instructions being set down and limited in the word of God, that cannot be extended or abridged by any mortal king, or emperor; and seeing he was sent to all sorts, his commission and discharge of it should not, nor cannot, be lawfully judged by them to whom he was sent, they being sleep, not pastors, and to be judged by the word of God, and not to be the judges thereof, in a judicial way."

A decree of council was forthwith passed against him, upon which his brethren of the commission directed their doctrine against the council. The king sent a message to the commissioners, signifying that he would rest satisfied with Mr. Black's simple declaration of the truth; but Mr. Bruce and the rest replied, that if the affair concerned Mr. Black alone, they should be content, but the liberty of Christ's kingdom had received such a wound by the proclamation of last Saturday, that if Mr. Black's life, and a dozen of others besides, had been taken, it had not grieved the hearts of the godly so much, and that either these things behoved to be retracted, or they would oppose so long as they had breath. But, after a long process, no mitigation of the council's severity could be obtained; for Mr. Black was charged by a macer, to enter his person in ward, on the north of the Tay, there to remain on his own expense, during his Majesty's pleasure; and though he was next year restored to his place at St Andrews, yet he was not allowed to continue; for about the month of July that same year, the king and council again proceeded against him; and he was removed to Angus, where he continued till the day of his death. He had always been a severe check on the

* 1 Pet. ii.

† Eph. i. Col. ii.

negligent and unfaithful part of the clergy, and they now had found means to get rid of him. His situation at St. Andrews was conferred on George Gladstones, minister of Arbirlot, in the shire of Angus, into whose parish Black was in his turn admitted.

After his removal thither, he continued to exercise his ministry preaching daily to such as resorted to him, with much success, and having intimate communion with God, till the day of his death, which happened six years after.

Towards his last sickness, the Christian temper of his mind was so much improved by large measures of the Spirit, that his conversation had a remarkable effect in humbling the hearts, and comforting the souls of those who attended him, engaging them to take the yoke of Christ upon them.* He found in his own soul also, such a sensible taste of heavenly joys, that he was seized with a fervent desire to depart, and to be with the Lord; longing to have the earthly house of this his tabernacle destroyed, that he might be admitted into the mansions of everlasting rest. In the midst of these earnest breathings after God, the Lord was pleased to condescend to the importunity of his servant, giving him to know that the time of his departure was at hand. On the day, therefore, preceding his death, which happened on a Sabbath, he took a solemn farewell of his family and flock, in a discourse, as Melvill says,† that seemed to

* This affords us an opportunity to remark, that it is not only as a record of their zeal, and faithfulness, and undaunted resolution, in performing their public duties, and in testifying or suffering for the truth, in a public manner, that these memoirs of the Worthies are intaded to be useful; but also as presenting signal instances, of piety and patience in the ordinary scenes of life, and under the common sufferings of humanity. It is said of an eminent English author, whose works have been generally admired as models of ease and elegance, but who, with the utmost refinement of taste, and the greatest success in the pursuits of literature, was not ashamed to profess his belief in the gospel, that when laid on his death-bed, and within a few hours of eternity, he sent for a young nobleman, his intimate friend, and taking him by the hand, said, "Come, see with what peace a Christian can die!" And surely, next to the death of the wicked, connected as it sometimes is by the most awful awakenings of conscience, nothing can be more influential, in rousing the careless, in turning the disobedient to the wisdom of the just, or confirming the believer in his most holy faith, than witnessing the last sickness, or the dying moments of a genuine and triumphant Christian. Hence the effect which, in the statement above, is ascribed to those who witnessed this eminent saint in his conflict with the King of terrors. These persons, we will readily allow, were highly privileged. To have looked on his countenance, glowing with celestial rapture; to have listened to his words, telling of heavenly joys and eternal rest; must, one would think, have been a cure for infidelity. Now, in so far as the actual beholding of the scene is concerned, the benefit resulting from it can never be ours. If we credit, however, the details of history, and are at due pains to ponder, and realize them, a similar effect may be produced in our minds; and by perceiving with the eye of fancy, the scene which they describe, we may learn not only with what peace, but with *what triumph*, a Christian may die.

† *Mira et vero relatio de Davidis Black transmigratione in celestem patriam.*

be spoken out of heaven, concerning the misery and grief of this life, and the inconceivable glory which is above.

The night following, after supper, having read and prayed in his family with unusual continuance, strong crying, and fervent supplication, he went to bed, and slept for some time. The next day being appointed for the celebration of the Lord's supper, he went to church; and having brought the communion service near a close, he felt the approaches of death, and all discovering a sudden change of his countenance, some ran to support him; but pressing to be at his knees, with his hands and eyes lifted up towards heaven, in the very act of adoration, as in a transport of joy, he was taken away, with scarcely any appearance of pain. Thus this holy man, who had so faithfully maintained the interest of Christ upon earth, breathed forth his soul in this extraordinary manner, that it seemed rather like a translation than a real death. There can be little doubt that the immediate cause of his death was apoplexy. His death must have happened in the year 1605; and from the universal estimation in which he was held, both by his parishioners and the public, he must have descended to the grave, followed by the regrets of many a pious and affectionate heart.



JOHN DAVIDSON

JOHN DAVIDSON, afterwards minister of Libberton and of Prestonpans, was a native of Dumfermline, and was enrolled as a student of St. Leonard's college in the university of St. Andrews, from 1567 to 1570. He was a man of great zeal and boldness in favour of the reformed interests, and began very early to discover uncommon piety and faithfulness in the discharge of his duty. When the regent Morton, in 1573, obtained an order of the privy council for uniting two, three, and even four parishes, an order which, as it sanctioned one of the worst abuses in the popish church, gave great dissatisfaction, Davidson, then a regent in St. Leonard's college, wrote a poem, exposing its object in the strongest terms. The poem being printed without his knowledge, he was summoned to a justice-air at Haddington, and a sentence of imprisonment pronounced against him. He was, however, liberated upon bail, in the hopes that he might be prevailed on to retract what he had written, or that his brethren might be induced to condemn it. Interest was made for him by some of the principal gentlemen of the country, but his prosecutor remained inflexible, so that finding nothing less than a recommendation would save him from punishment, he, after lurking for a while in the west of Scotland, retired into England, whence he was not permitted to return during the regent's life time.

He was afterwards involved in the sufferings brought upon

several ministers in consequence of the Raid of Ruthven.* in 1582. and the enterprise at Stirling† in 1584.

Being then minister of Libberton, he was appointed by the presbytery of Edinburgh, to excommunicate Montgomery for reviving his claims to the archbishopric of Glasgow, after having solemnly renounced them in the preceding General Assembly. This appointment he executed with a boldness which not a little surprised the court faction. He afterwards made one of the commission sent by the Assembly to remonstrate with the king at Stirling, on the late unjustifiable measures in favour of Montgomery, and here again displayed his faithfulness by his admonitions to the court. In consequence of the acts passed in May, 1584, giving the king all power in causes both civil and ecclesiastical, and the violent procedure against several of his brethren which immediately followed, he was compelled to fly into England, where he remained a considerable time.

Being returned to Scotland, he, in 1590, signalized himself by his letter in answer to Dr. Bancroft's infamous attack on the Church of Scotland. In 1596, a year memorable in the history of the Church, he being now minister of Prestonpans, was very active and successful in bringing forward the overture for a general reformation; and when, as a preparatory step to its being carried into effect, the ministers and other commissioners of the General Assembly, met in the Little church of Edinburgh, for confession and prayer, to the number of about four hundred ministers, besides elders and private Christians, Mr. Davidson was chosen to preside amongst them. Having caused the 33d and 34th chapters of Ezekiel to be read, and discoursed upon them in a very affecting manner, he shewed what was the end of their meeting, in confessing sin, and re-

* Robert Montgomery, minister of Stirling, had made a simoniacal purchase of the Archbishopric of Glasgow, from the earl of Lennox, for which he was to give him £500 sterling of yearly rent. Accordingly, on March, 1582, he came to Glasgow, with a number of soldiers, and pulled the minister in the pulpit by the sleeve, saying, "Come down Sirrah." The minister replied "He was placed there by the Kirk, and would give place to none who intruded themselves without order." Much confusion and bloodshed ensued in the town. The presbytery of Stirling suspended Montgomery; in which the General Assembly supported them. Lennox obtained a commission from the King to try and bring the offenders to justice. Before that commission court met, the Earls of Mar and Gowrie, the Master of Oliphant, young Lochleven, &c. carried the King to Ruthven castle, and there supplicated him to revoke his commission to Lennox. This he did, and ordered him to leave the country; which, after some delays, he did, retiring to Berwick. Afterwards the persons concerned in the affair at Ruthven, were charged to leave the realm upon pain of corporal punishment; because the Council had adjudged it to be treason against the King and government.

† The noblemen concerned in the Raid of Ruthven, assembled an army at Stirling, and took the castle, and from thence sent a supplication to the King to redress their grievances. In the mean time the Earl of Gowrie, lingering about Dundee, was apprehended, and committed to prison; which discouraged the party so much, that they fled in the night, and got to Berwick. The captain of the castle and three others were hanged. Gowrie was likewise executed on the 2d May, 1584.

solving to forsake it, and that they should turn to the Lord, and enter into a new league and covenant with him, that so, by repentance, they might be the more meet to stir up others to the same duty. In this he was so assisted by the Spirit working upon their hearts, that within an hour after they had convened, they began to look with quite another countenance than at first, and while he was exhorting them to these duties, the whole assembly melted into tears before him.

After prayer, he preached on Luke xii. 22. ; having the same assistance given him. Before they dismissed, they solemnly entered into a new league and covenant, holding up their hands, with such signs of sincerity as moved all present. That afternoon, the Assembly enacted the renewal of the covenant by particular synods.

In the General Assembly held at Dundee, 1598, where the king was present, and when it was proposed, Whether ministers should vote in parliament in the name of the Church, Davidson displayed his wonted boldness. He entreated them not to be rash in concluding so weighty a matter, he said, "Brethren, you see not how readily the bishops begin to creep up." Being desired to give his vote, he refused: and protested in his own name, and in the name of those who should adhere to him, and requested that his protest should be inserted in the books of Assembly. Here the king interposed, and said, "That shall not be granted; see if you have voted and reasoned before." "Never, Sir," said Davidson, "but without prejudice to any protestation made or to be made." And then presented his protestation in writing; which was handed from one to another, till it was laid down before the clerk. The king taking it up, and reading it, shewed it to the moderator and others about, and at last put it in his pocket.* This protest and letter, however, was the occasion of farther trouble to him. For, in May following, he was charged to compare before the council on the 26th, and answer for the same, and was by order of the king committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh; but, on account of bodily infirmity, this place of confinement was changed to his own dwelling house; after which he obtained liberty to exercise his office in his own parish. Afterwards, in 1603, when the king was on his way to England, as he was passing through Prestonpans, the laird of Ormiston entreated him to relieve Davidson from his confinement to the bounds of his own parish: but this could not be obtained, and he died in the course of the following year.

He was undoubtedly a man of warm and sincere piety, of great boldness and honesty, and possessed no small share of learning for his time. The exertions which he made during his incumbency at Preston to provide for the religious and literary instruction of that parish, entitle him to the most grateful remembrance. At his own expense he built a church and a manse, a school house and dwelling

* See this protest, and a letter sent by him to the Assembly of 1601, in *Calderwood*, pp. 420 and 450.

house for the master. The school was erected for teaching the three learned languages, and to its support he destined all his heritable and moveable property. The bodily distress under which he had laboured during the last years of his life was, in no small degree aggravated by the persecution of government, a persecution which might be said to have been directed against his writings after death. His character has been, it is probable, in some degree misrepresented both by enemies and friends. The calumnies of Spottiswood, in his history, may be justly traced to personal animosity. On the other hand, the prophetic character ascribed to him seems to depend on facts which are either extravagant and incorrect, or may be accounted for as the mere results of his penetration and sagacity.



ANDREW MELVILL.

PERHAPS the most illustrious name which occurs in the history of the reformation in Scotland, after the time of Knox, is that of Andrew Melvill. He was the youngest son of Richard Melvill, proprietor of the state of Baldoxy near Montrose. He was born on the 1st of August 1545. When only two years old he was deprived of both his parents, and committed, an orphan, to the care of his elder brother. By his care, and that of his excellent wife, the loss of his parents was in a great measure made up to him. Perceiving in him a taste and capacity for learning, his brother resolved to give him the best education that the country afforded. He accordingly placed him at the grammar school of Montrose, then taught by Thomas Anderson, and to him it may be presumed he was indebted for instruction in religion as well as in secular learning. But he had a more able instructor in his pious and intelligent brother who had for many years been a convert to the protestant faith.—In the year 1559 he went to the university of St. Andrews, and entered the college of St. Mary, where his great advancement, especially in Greek learning, excited the astonishment of even his teachers. And having finished the usual course of study, he left it with the character of “the best philosopher, poet, and Grecian, of any young master in the land.”

Having thus acquired eminence by his learning at home, he resolved to complete his education on the continent. In 1564 he set out for France: and after a protracted voyage being landed at Dieppe, he went to Paris and commenced his studies in its renowned university, an institution which was then in its most flourishing state, and sustained in its celebrity by the most distinguished professors. From thence, after remaining for about two years, he went to that of Poitiers, with the view of studying civil law; and such was the reputation he had already gained, that, though a stranger and only twenty one years of age, he was on his arrival there appointed

a regent in the College of St. Marceon. In this situation he continued three years, and having during the siege of the town in 1568 entered into the family of a counsellor of Parliament as tutor to his son, he met with an incident to which he never after could allude but with tears. Coming into his room one day he found his pupil, a very promising boy, bathed in blood and mortally wounded, by a canon ball from the camp of the besiegers, which had pierced the house. He lingered for a short time, employing such knowledge of religion as he possessed in comforting his afflicted parent, and expired in his tutor's arms, pronouncing in Greek, these affecting words, "Master, I have finished my course."

From Poitiers, he now retired to Geneva, and there spent a considerable time in prosecuting his studies, and in cultivating the acquaintance of the many learned and distinguished men of which it was the resort. After passing through various dangers which threatened him, on account of his attachment to the reformed opinions, he returned to Scotland in July 1574, having been absent from his native country for nearly ten years. Upon his return, the learned Beza, in a letter to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, said, "That the greatest token of affection the kirk of Geneva could show to Scotland, was, that they had suffered themselves to be deprived of Mr. Andrew Melvill."

Soon after, the Assembly appointed him to be Principal of the college of Glasgow, where he continued for some years. In 1576, the Earl of Morton being then Regent, and thinking to bring Melvill over to his party, who were endeavouring to introduce Episcopacy, offered him the parsonage of Govan, a benefice of twenty-four chalders of grain yearly, besides what he enjoyed as Principal, provided he would not insist against the establishment of bishops; but Melvill rejected his offer with scorn.

He was afterwards translated to St. Andrews, where he served in the same situation he had held at Glasgow, and was likewise a minister of that city. Here he taught the divinity class; and, as a minister, continued to testify against the encroachments then making upon the rights of the Church.

When the Assembly sat down at Edinburgh, in 1582, Melvill inveighed against the absolute authority which was making its way into the church; whereby, he said, they intended to pull the crown from Christ's head, and wrest the sceptre out of his hand; and when several articles, of the same tenor with his speech, were presented by the commission of the Assembly to the King and Council, craving redress, the Earl of Arran cried out, "Is there any here that dare subscribe these articles?" Upon which Melvill went forward and said, "We dare, and will render our lives in the cause;" and then took up the pen and subscribed.

We do not find that at this time any disagreeable consequences ensued from his intrepidity. But in the beginning of February 1584, he was summoned to appear before the Privy council, on the 17th of that month, to answer for seditious and treasonable speeches said to have been uttered by him in his sermon and prayers on a fast which

had been kept during the preceding month. At his first compearance, he made a verbal defence ; but being again called, he gave in a declaration, with a declinature, importing, that he had said nothing, either in that or any other sermon, tending to dishonour the King ; but had regularly prayed for the preservation and prosperity of his Majesty : That, as by acts of parliament and laws of the Church, he should be tried for his doctrine by the Church, he therefore protested for, and craved a trial by them ; and particularly in the place, St. Andrews, where the offence was alleged to have been committed : That as there were special laws in favour of St. Andrews, to the above import, he particularly claimed the privilege of them. He further protested, that what he had said was warranted by the word of God, that he appealed to the congregation who heard the sermon ; and that he craved to know his accusers ; that, if the calumny was found to be false, the informers might be punished, &c. After which he gave an account of the sermon in question ; alleging that his meaning had been misunderstood, and his words perverted.

Upon hearing this defence, the King and the Earl of Arran, who was then chancellor, raged exceedingly. Melvill however remained undisturbed ; and replied, that they were too bold, in a constituted Christian kirk, to pass by its teachers, and to take upon them to judge the doctrine, and control the administrations of the servants of a King and council greater than themselves. " And that you may see your rashness, in taking upon you that which you neither ought nor can do, (taking out a small Hebrew Bible, and laying it down before them,) there are," said he, " my instructions and warrant,—see if any of you can show me, that I have passed my injunctions." The Chancellor, opening the book, put it into the King's hand, saying, " Sire, he scorns your Majesty and the Council." " Nay," said Melvill, " I scorn not, but I am in good earnest." He was, during the time of this debate, frequently removed, but instantly recalled, that he might not have time to consult with his friends. They at last proceeded against him, and admitted his avowed enemies to prove the accusation. Though the whole train of evidence which was led, proved little or nothing against him, yet they resolved to involve him in troubles, because he had declined their authority, as incompetent judges of doctrine, and therefore remitted him to ward in the castle of Edinburgh, during the King's pleasure.

Being informed, that if he entered into ward he would not be released, unless it should be to the scaffold, that the decree of the Council was altered, and Blackness was appointed for his prison, which was kept by a dependant of the Earl of Arran, he resolved to leave the country. A macer gave him a charge to enter Blackness in twenty-four hours ; and, in the meanwhile, some of Arran's horsemen were attending at the west-port to convoy him thither : but, by the time he should have entered Blackness, he had reached Berwick. The ministers of Edinburgh prayed earnestly for him in public, and gave him the good character he deserved, which both moved the people, and galled the Court exceedingly.

After a banishment of twenty months, which he spent in London, he returned to Scotland in 1585, and having assisted in reorganizing the college of Glasgow, he in 1586 resumed his place at St. Andrews. Here the Synod of Fife, which met in April, having proceeded to excommunicate Archbishop Adamson for his attempt at overturning the Presbyterian government of the Church, and introducing Episcopacy, Melvill, and also his nephew who had preached the sermon, were in their turn excommunicated by him. This difference with the Archbishop brought them again before the King and Council, who pretending that there was no other method to end the quarrel, ordained Andrew the uncle to be confined to the counties beyond the Tay, under pretence that he might be useful in that quarter in reclaiming Papists, whilst James the nephew, because of his sickly condition, was sent back to the new college. Shortly after, however, the university having sent the Dean of Faculty and the Masters, with a supplication to the King in Melvill's behalf, he was suffered to return; but was not restored to his place and office until the month of August following.

The next winter, he laboured to give the students in divinity, under his care, a thorough knowledge of the discipline and government of the Church; which was attended with considerable success. The specious arguments of Episcopacy vanished, and the serious part, both of the town and university, repaired to the college to hear him.

After this he was chosen Moderator in some subsequent assemblies of the Church; in which several acts were made in favour of religion, as maintained in that period.

When the King brought home his Queen from Denmark, in 1590, Melvill made an excellent oration upon the occasion, in Latin; which so pleased the King, that he publicly declared he had therein both honoured him and his country, and that he should never be forgotten; yet such was the instability of this prince, that, in a little after this, because Melvill opposed his arbitrary measures in grasping after an absolute authority over the church,* he conceived a hatred against him which lasted ever after.

In the year 1590 he was elected Rector of the university of St. Andrews, and in that office oftener than once displayed his prudence and intrepidity. He also acted in the capacity of ruling elder in that town, and was very active and successful in the plantation of vacant parishes within the bounds of the Presbytery of which he was a member.

In 1594 the General Assembly testified their sense of his important public services in favour of the Church, by placing him for the

* Bennet in his memorial, says, that while he (James) grasped at arbitrary power, to which he discovered an inclination through the whole of his reign, it has been observed, and not without good reason, that he made himself mean and contemptible to all the world abroad, through affecting to swagger over his parliament and people at home, which he did in a manner that was far from making or showing him great.

second time on the Moderator's chair. Shortly after, he appeared for the Church before the Lords of Articles, reasoning powerfully for the forfeiture of the Popish Lords, and still farther, along with his nephew and two other ministers, he accompanied his Majesty, at his express request, in his expedition against them, and contributed not a little to its success.

In the course of the year 1595 he was involved in some degree of trouble through his friendship for David Black, in reference to the processes against that individual detailed in his life.

In the same year he went, with some other ministers, to the Convention of Estates which met at Falkland, to consider the offers of the excommunicated lords who were then in exile, and though he had a commission from last Assembly, to watch against every danger that might threaten the Church, yet, whenever he appeared at the head of the ministers, the King asked him, Who sent for him there? To which he resolutely answered, "Sire, I have a call to come here from Christ and his Church, who have a special concern in what you are doing here, and in direct opposition to whom ye are all here assembled; but, be ye assured, that no counsel taken against him shall prosper; and I charge you, Sire, in his name, that you, and your Estates here convened, favour not God's enemies, whom he hateth;"—After he had said this, turning himself to the rest of the members, he told them, that they were assembled with a traitorous design against Christ, the Church, and their native country. In the midst of this speech, he was commanded by the King to withdraw, upon which he retired thanking God for having enjoyed the opportunity of exonerating his conscience.

The Commission of the General Assembly now met at Cupar in Fife, and understanding how matters were going on at the Convention, they sent some of their members, of whom Melvill was one, to expostulate with the King. When they came, he received them in his closet. James Melvill, being first in the commission, told the King his errand; upon which his Majesty appeared angry, and charged them with sedition. James, being a man of cool passion and genteel behaviour, began to answer the King with great reverence and respect: but Andrew, interrupting him, said, "This is not a time to flatter, but to speak plainly, for our commission is from the living God, to whom the King is subject;" and then, approaching the King, said, "Sire, we will always humbly reverence your Majesty in public, but having opportunity of being with your Majesty in private, we must discharge our duty, or else be enemies to Christ: And now, Sire, I must tell you, that there are two kingdoms, the kingdom of Christ, which is the Church, whose subject King James VI. is, and of whose kingdom he is not a head, nor a lord, but a member; and they whom Christ hath called, and commanded to watch over his Church, and govern his spiritual kingdom, have sufficient authority and power from him so to do, which no Christian King nor Prince should control or discharge, but assist and support, otherwise they are not faithful subjects to Christ. And, Sire, when you was in your swaddling clothes, Christ

reigned freely in this land; in spite of all His enemies, His officers and ministers were convened for ruling His Church, which was ever for your welfare, defence, and preservation, when these same enemies were seeking your destruction. And will you now challenge Christ's servants, your best and most faithful subjects, for convening together, and for the care they have of their duty to Christ and you. The wisdom of your Council is, that you may be served with all sorts of men, that you may come to your purpose, and because the ministers and protestants of Scotland are strong, they must be weakened and brought low, by stirring up a party against them: out, Sire, this is not the wisdom of God, and his curse must light upon it; whereas, in cleaving to God, His servants shall be your true friends, and He shall compel the rest to serve you." It is not difficult to conjecture how this discourse was relished by the King; however, he kept his temper, and promised fair things to them for the present; but it was the word of him whose standard maxim was, *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare*, "he who knows not how to dissemble, knows not how to reign." In this sentiment, unworthy of the meanest among men, the King gloried, and made it his constant rule of conduct; for in the Assembly at Dundee, in 1598, Melvill being present, he discharged him from the Assembly, and would not suffer business to go on till he was removed.

There are other instances of the magnanimity of this faithful witness of Christ, which are worthy of notice. In 1606, he and seven of his brethren, who stood most in the way of having prelacy advanced in Scotland, were called to London, under pretence of having a hearing granted them by the King, on the subject of religion, but rather to be kept out of the way, as the event afterwards proved, until Episcopacy should be better established in this kingdom. Soon after their arrival, they were examined by the King and Council at Hampton Court, on the 20th of September, concerning the lawfulness of the Assembly at Aberdeen in 1604. The King, in particular, asked Melvill, whether a few clergy, meeting without Moderator or Clerk, could make an Assembly? He replied, there was no number limited by law; that fewness of number was no argument against the legality of the court; especially when the promise was, in God's word, given to two or three convened in the name of Christ; and that the meeting was ordinary, established by his Majesty's laws. The rest of the ministers delivered themselves to the same purpose; after which Melvill, with his usual freedom of speech, supported the conduct of his brethren at Aberdeen; recounted the wrongs done them at Linlithgow, whereof he was a witness himself: blamed the King's Advocate, Sir Thomas Hamilton, who was then present, for so favouring Popery, and maltreating the ministers, that even the Accuser of the brethren could not have done more against the saints of God than had been done; affirmed that the prelatists were encouraged, though some of them were promoting the interests of Popery with all their might; and that the faithful servants of Christ were shut up in prison: and then addressing the Advocate personally, he added, "Still you think all this is

not enough, but continue to persecute the brethren with the same spirit you did in Scotland." After some conversation betwixt the King and the Archbishop of Canterbury, they were dismissed, with the applause of many present, for their bold and steady defence of the cause of God and truth; for they had been much misrepresented to the English. They had scarcely retired from before the King, however, till they received a charge not to return to Scotland, nor come near the King's, Queen's, or Prince's Court, without special license, and being called for. A few days after, they were again called to Court, and examined before a select number of the Scots nobility; where, after his nephew's examination,* Melvill being called, told them plainly, "That they knew not what they were doing; they had degenerated from the ancient nobility of Scotland, who were wont to hazard their lives and lands for the freedom of that country, and that gospel which they were now betraying and overturning." But night drawing on, they were dismissed.

A few days after this, they were required by a message from his Majesty, to be in the Royal chapel next day, being the festival of St. Michael, to which of course they yielded obedience. On entering the chapel, James Melvill whispered to his uncle that he suspected a design to entrap them and to put their patience to the test. The chapel resounded with all kinds of music. On the altar were placed two shut books, two empty chalices, and two candlesticks with unlighted candles. The King and Queen approached it, and with great ceremony presented their offerings. Upon this solemnity Melvill wrote an Epigram† for which he was called before the Council. He accordingly with his accustomed boldness compeared, avowed the verses, and declared, "He was much moved with indignation at such vanity and superstition in a Christian Church, under a Christian King, born and brought up under the pure light of the gospel, and especially before idolators, to confirm them in idolatry, and grieve the hearts of true professors." The Bishop of Canterbury began to speak, but Melvill charged him with breach of the Lord's day, with imprisoning, silencing, and bearing down of faithful ministers, and with upholding Antichristian hierarchy and Popish ceremonies; and, shaking the white sleeves of his rochet, he called them Romish rags; told him, that he was an avowed enemy to all the reformed Churches in Europe; and therefore he (Melvill) would profess himself an enemy to him in all such proceedings, to the effusion of the last drop of his blood; and that he was grieved to the heart to see such a man have the King's ear, and sit so high in that honourable Council. He also

* James Melvill was confined at last to Berwick, where he ended his days, Jan. 1614.

† The Epigram is as follows:

Cur stant clausi Anglis libri duo, regia in ara,
Lumina cæca duo; pollubra sicca duo?
Num sensum, cultumque Dei tenet Anglia clausum.
Lumine cæca suo, sorde sepulta suo?
Romano an ritu, dum regalem instruit aram.
Purpuream pingit religiosa lupam.

charged Bishop Barlow with having declared, after the conference at Hampton Court, that the King had said, he was in the Church of Scotland, but not of it: and wondered that he was suffered to go unpunished, for thus making the King of no religion. He then proceeded to refute his sermon, which he had lately preached before the King, and was at last removed; an order being given to Dr. Overwall, Dean of St. Paul's, to receive him into his house, and not to let any have access to him, till his Majesty's pleasure was signified. Next year he was ordered from the Dean's house to the Bishop of Winchester's, where, not being so strictly guarded, he sometimes kept company with his brethren: but was at last committed to the Tower of London, where he remained for four years.

While he was in the Tower, a gentleman of his acquaintance got access to him, and found him very pensive and melancholy on account of the prevailing defections among many of the ministers in Scotland; and, having lately been informed of their proceedings at the General Assembly held at Glasgow, in 1610, where the Earl of Dunbar had an active hand in corrupting many of them with money, the gentleman desired to know what word he had to send to his native country? At first he received no answer, but upon a second inquiry, was told, "I have no word to send, but am heavily grieved, that the glorious government of the Church of Scotland should be so defaced, and a Popish tyrannical one set up; and thou, Manderston, (for out of that family Dunbar had sprung,) hadst thou no other thing to do, but to carry the commissions down to Scotland, whereby the poor Church is wrecked! The Lord shall be avenged on thee; thou shalt never have leave to set thy foot in that kingdom again!" These last words impressed the gentleman so much, that he desired some who attended the Court, to get some business, which was managing through Dunbar's interest, expedited without delay, being persuaded that they would not fall to the ground. This accordingly was the case, for the Earl died at Whitehall a short time after, while he was building an elegant house at Berwick, and making grand preparations for his daughter's marriage to Lord Walden.

The injustice of Melvill's imprisonment was heightened by the unnecessary severity with which he was treated. The indulgence of having a servant confined with him, was withdrawn; and the use of paper, pen, and ink denied him. But his spirit yet remained unbroken, and he even found means of expressing the sense he entertained of his unmerited sufferings, by covering the walls of his apartment with beautiful verses, inscribed upon it with the tongue of his shoe buckle. After ten months passed in this state, his confinement was rendered less severe. Meantime about the end of 1607, the protestants of Rochelle attempted to obtain him to their college, as Professor of Divinity. The negotiation, however, ultimately failed: and at the instance of his friends, he, sometime after this, addressed the King, and also the Privy Council, on the subject of his release, but without effect.

In 1610, an application to the King was made by the Duke of Bouillon, requesting that he might be liberated, and allowed to come as a professor to his University at Sedan in France. This application, after some opposition from the French Queen regent, proved ultimately successful, and in February, 1611, after four years confinement, Melvill was, by the interest of the duke, released on condition that he would comply with his invitation. Meantime, however, his health, which had hitherto continued good, began at last to suffer from confinement, and he was seized with a fever. He was in consequence permitted to leave the tower, that he might enjoy the free air for a few days, within ten miles of London. During this interval, another unsuccessful attempt was made to obtain him liberty to return to Scotland. And having recovered, he in compliance with the Duke's request, sailed for France, where, arrived at Sedan, he continued for the rest of his life enjoying that calm repose denied him in his own country, but maintaining his usual constancy and faithfulness in the service of Christ, which he had done through the whole of his previous history.

About the year 1620 his health began greatly to decline, and it is probable that the distempers, with which he had been occasionally visited ever since he left the Tower, now became more frequent in their attacks, and gradually wasted his constitution. He died at Sedan in the course of the year 1622, at the advanced age of seventy-seven.

It is not necessary to say much by way of drawing his character. The facts recorded in the preceding memoir, speak for themselves. It will readily be observed, that a high degree of fortitude and boldness appeared in all his actions. Where the honour of his Lord and Master was concerned, the fear of man made no part of his character. He is by Spottiswood styled the Principal Agent, or Apostle of the Presbyterians in Scotland.* He did indeed assert the rights of Presbytery to the utmost of his power against Diocesan Episcopacy. He possessed great presence and vigour of mind, and was superior to all the arts of flattery that were sometimes tried with him. He was once blamed as being too fiery in his temper, and replied, "If you see my fire go downward, set your foot upon it, but if it go upward, let it go to its own place." "Next to her Reformer," (Knox) says his eloquent Biographer, "who under God emancipated her from the degrading shackles of papal superstition and tyranny, I know no individual from whom Scotland has received such important services, or to whom she continues to owe so deep a debt of national respect and gratitude, as Andrew Melvill."†

* Spottiswood does not ascribe any thing of the form of Presbyterian church government to Knox, because they admitted of Superintendants in his time, which he thinks was Episcopacy; but says, That Andrew Melvill brought this innovation (as he is pleased to call it) from Geneva, about the year 1575. Hist. p. 275.

† Dr. McCrie's life of Andrew Melvill, to which, for many interesting particulars of his life, and of his time, the reader is referred. W. M. G.

WILLIAM ROW.

WILLIAM ROW was a son of John Row, minister at Perth, one of the early reformers, who gave him a very liberal education under his own eye. His name is omitted in the parish register, but he must have been born in the year 1563. His first, and, according to some writers, his only ecclesiastical appointment, was to the parish of Forgandenny, in the presbytery of Perth, in which, about the year 1590, he succeeded a person of the same name with his father, and most probably a relation of the family. According to others, he was settled minister at Strathmiglo, in Fife, about the year 1600, and continued there for several years. His character and history are not a little interesting and curious.

He was one of those ministers who refused to give public thanks for the king's deliverance from his danger in Gowrie's conspiracy, until the truth of that conspiracy should be made to appear. This refusal brought upon him the king's displeasure, and he was summoned to appear before the court and council at Stirling, soon after. On the day appointed for his compareance, two noblemen were sent, the one before the other, to meet him on the way, and, under pretence of friendship, to say, that the council had a design upon his life, that so he might be prevailed on to decline appearing. The first met him near his own house, the second a few miles from Stirling; but Mr. Row told them, that he would not, by disobedience to the summons, make himself justly liable to the pains of law; and proceeded to Stirling, to the no small amazement of the king and his court. When challenged for disbelieving the truth of the conspiracy, he told them, as one reason of his hesitation, that one Henderson, who was said to have confessed that Gowrie hired him to kill the king, and to have been found armed in his Majesty's chamber for that purpose, was not only suffered to live, but rewarded: "Whereas," said he, "if I had seen the king's life in hazard, and not ventured my life to rescue him, I think I deserved not to live."

The two following anecdotes will show with what uncommon courage and resolution he defended the liberties of the Church.

Being at Edinburgh, previous to an Assembly there, at which the king wanted to bring in some innovation, and meeting with James Melvill, who was sent for by the king, he accompanied him to Holyroodhouse. While Melvill was with the king, he stood behind a screen, and not getting an opportunity to go out with his brother undiscovered, he overheard the king say to some of his courtiers,

This is a good simple man, I have stroked cream on his mouth, and he will procure me a good number of voters, I warrant you!" This said, Mr. Row got off; and overtaking Melvill, asked him, what had passed? Melvill told him all; and said, "The king is well disposed to the Church, and intends to do her good by all his schemes." Row replied, "The king looks upon you as a fool and a knave; and

wants to use you as a coy-duck to draw in others;" and then told him what he had overheard. Melvill suspecting the truth of his report, he offered to go with him, and avouch it to the king's face. Accordingly, they went back to the palace, when Melvill seeing him as forward to go in as he was to offer, believed his report, and stopped him: and next day, when the Assembly proceeded to voting, Melvill having voted against what the king proposed, his Majesty would not believe that such was his vote, till he, being asked again, repeated it.

Again in 1607, he being to open the synod of Perth, to which the king despatched Lord Scone, captain of his guards, to force them to accept a constant moderator, he was told by his Lordship, that if, in his preaching, he uttered ought against *constant moderators*, he should cause ten or twelve of his guards to discharge their culverins at his nose; and accordingly when he attended the sermon introductory to the synod, he stood up in a menacing posture as if to overawe the preacher. But Row, no way dismayed, knowing what vices Scone was chargeable with, particularly that he was a great glutton, drew his picture so to the life, and condemned what was culpable in it with so much severity, that he felt constrained to sit down, and even to cover his face. Afterwards Row proceeded to prove, that no constant moderator should be suffered in the church: but knowing that Scone understood neither Latin nor Greek, he wisely avoided designating the office in English, but always in Greek or Latin. Sermon being ended, Scone said to some of the nobles attending him, "You see I have scared the preacher from meddling with the constant moderator; but I wonder whom he spoke so much against by the name of *præstes ad vitam*." They told him, that it was the Latin for constant moderator, which so incensed him, that when Row proceeded to constitute the synod in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, he said, "The devil a Jesus is here:" and when calling over the roll to choose their moderator after the ancient form, Scone would have pulled it from him, but he being a strong man, held him off with one hand, and holding the synod-roll in the other, went through the list of members.

After this, he was put to the horn; and on the 11th June following, he and Livingstone, the moderator, were summoned before the Council, to answer for their proceedings at the synod. Livingstone compeared, and with great difficulty obtained the favour to be warded in his own parish. But Row was advised not to compear, unless the Council would relax him from the horning, and set him free of danger from Scone's party, who had letters of caption to apprehend and commit him to Blackness. This was refused, and a search made, which obliged him to abscond and lurk for a considerable time, in privacy, among his friends.

He was subjected to several other hardships during the remainder of his life, but still maintained that steady courage and fidelity in the discharge of his duty, which is exemplified in the above instances, until the day of his death.

In 1624, by the favour of Alexander Lindsay, bishop of Dunkeld

and minister of St. Madoes, in the presbytery of Perth, the patron of Forgandenny, he obtained the satisfaction of having his son William ordained his assistant and successor in that parish.

This bishop was an humble and moderate man. He was well acquainted with Row, from the time they had been companions at college, and highly esteemed him for his good qualities, though they now differed in their opinions of church government. He was doing him a kindness with regard to his son, but yet was willing that he should take his own way as far as possible, in acting up to his character as a zealous presbyterian.

The following characteristic anecdote, in reference to this event, is according to what we find in Row's own manuscript. Lindsay said to him, "Mr. William, I do not come to this meeting as a bishop, but as your co-presbyter; and I promise you I shall not ask your son any other questions than those which are contained in the Psalm-Book," that is, in the old form of admission, which together with other forms and prayers, were prefixed to the metrical version of the Psalms. Row was fully sensible of his friendship, but was glad notwithstanding for the safety of his conscience, to employ the latitude of speech which he knew was granted him. He would not give to the bishop the title of "My Lord." And when they went to dinner, to which the bishop came uninvited, he still, in the exact manner of the times, shewed the behaviour of a rigid presbyterian. "Mr. Alexander," said he, "you know you and I were co-disciples at college, and Mr. John Malcolm, now minister of Perth, was our master; it is therefore fit that your master should sit at table above you." "It is exceedingly right," said the bishop; and, with a great deal of good humour, he gave place to Mr. Malcolm. Indeed, Lindsay, who was laird of Evelick, in the Parish of Gowrie, was, in the last years of his life, a conformist to presbytery.

Row died in the beginning of October, 1634. William, his son and successor, distinguished himself in the time of the civil wars, as a zealous covenantor, and attended the Scots army into England, as one of its chaplains. He died in 1660. If he had lived till the re-establishment of episcopacy, in 1661, he would have been deprived, for non-conformity.



PATRICK SIMPSON.

PATRICK SIMPSON was the son of Andrew Simpson, Minister of Dunbar, one of the first in the Church of Scotland who resolutely set themselves against popery, and one under whom were educated some of the most illustrious individuals, both of the clergy and laity, in the age which succeeded him. He was also one of five brothers, who, after the example of their worthy father, devoted themselves to the Church, and were more or less distinguished as the zealous

assertors of her purity and rights. After having finished his academical course, he spent a considerable time in retirement, which he employed in reading the Greek and Latin classics, the ancient Christian fathers, and the history of the primitive Church. Being blamed by one of his friends, for wasting so much time in the study of Pagan writers, he replied, that he intended to adorn the house of God with these Egyptian jewels.*

He was first ordained minister of Cramond, but was afterward transported to Stirling, where he continued till his death. He was a faithful contender against the lordly encroachments of Prelacy. In 1564, when there was an express charge given by the King to the ministers, either to acknowledge Adamson as Archbishop of St. Andrews, or to lose their benefices, Simpson opposed the order with all his power, although Adamson was his uncle by the mother's side; and when some of his brethren seemed willing to acquiesce in the King's mandate, and subscribe their submission, "so far as it was agreeable to the word of God," he rebuked them sharply, saying, it would be no salvo to their consciences, seeing it was altogether absurd to subscribe an agreement with any human invention, when it was condemned by the word of God. A bishopric was offered him by the King, and a yearly pension besides, in order to bring him over to his designs, but he positively refused both,† saying, he regarded that preferment and profit as a bribe to enslave his con-

* This answer is worthy of being noted, not merely on account of the smartness and point with which it is expressed, but also as implying in it a doctrine of the very highest practical importance, namely, *the utility*, and consequently to a certain degree, *the necessity* of learning, towards the right fulfilment of the ministerial office. We mean not to enter at large into this topic; indeed our present bounds will not allow us. We cannot fail to remark, however, that the contrary opinion has almost invariably been held by those who, from their own want of education, were least capable of estimating its benefits. Those who, like Mr. Simpson, have cultivated with success, the literature of Greece and Rome, will in general, like him, be found ready to acknowledge its importance, to the public teacher of Christianity. That piety is still *more* necessary we frankly admit, but that the greatest degree of piety may be illustrated, adorned, and even recommended, by a proper attention to the dictates of taste, must also be obvious to every one in the least acquainted with human nature, or in the least experienced in human life.

† This was a noble instance of his devotedness to principle. And with this and many similar facts staring them in the face, it is truly astonishing to think of the wantonness and perversity of some writers, in charging our Worthies with the most selfish and worldly motives. Even the highest proof of a man's sincerity, his death, has by such persons not unfrequently been ascribed, to a feeling of vain glory. To *them*, it is quite inconceivable, that a man from a regard to certain religious tenets, should suffer the pains of martyrdom. This is a feat of virtue to which they can make no pretensions, and to which, therefore, their envy cannot permit that another should lay claim. Here, however, is a sacrifice more level to their apprehensions, and of the amount of which they are more capable of judging. Let them judge then, (for thus far they *can* judge) of the inducement held out to Mr. Simpson to desert his cause, let them estimate its strength by their own feelings, and unless, amongst the domineering prelates and unfeeling statesmen, who are the frequent subjects of their eulogy, they can produce a similar instance, let them for ever refrain from calumniating the Covenanters.

science which was dearer to him than any thing whatever. He did not stop with this; but having occasion, in 1598 to preach before the King, he publicly exhorted him to beware that he drew not the wrath of God upon himself, by patronizing a manifest breach of the divine laws. Immediately after sermon, the King stood up, and charged him not to intermeddle in these matters.

When the Assembly which was held at Aberdeen in 1604, was condemned by the state, he, in a very solemn manner, denounced the judgment of God against all such as had been concerned in distressing, and imprisoning the ministers who maintained its lawfulness, and justified its proceedings.

When in 1606, the Parliament met at Perth, with the view of repealing the statute which annexed the temporalities of bishoprics to the crown, and to restore the Episcopal order to their ancient privileges, and when no attention was paid to the representations of the ministers on the subject, a protest was prepared, which being refused by the Lords of Articles, was given in to each of the three Estates. This very important paper was prepared with much ability, by Patrick Simpson. It was signed by forty-two Ministers, and delivered by him into the hands of the Earl of Dunbar. And though it failed in either sisting or changing the proceedings in question, it still remains as a vindication to posterity, of the purity of principle and zeal for the Church, which distinguished the men whose sentiments it expressed.

But whilst he thus discharged with diligence and ardour, those public and political engagements which his office, as a member of the ecclesiastical commonwealth, imposed on him, Mr. Simpson did not neglect the more private, but not less important duties of the Gospel Minister. Nor was he more distinguished for zeal and public spirit in the cause of Christianity, than for exemplary piety, and a consistent walk, in private life. His Christian conduct and ministerial diligence, were attended with the happiest effects on the people with whom he stood connected.

He was also in a very eminent degree blessed with the spirit and return of prayer: and the following well attested fact shows at once how much of the divine countenance he had in this duty, and how much comfort it may be productive of to the genuine believer. His wife, Martha Barron, a woman of singular piety, fell sick, and under her indisposition, was strongly assaulted by the common enemy of salvation, suggesting to her, that she should be delivered up to him. This soon brought her into a very melancholy state of mind, which continued for some time increasing; and she broke forth into the most dreadful expressions.—Being in one of these fits of despair, one Sabbath morning, when Mr. Simpson was going to preach; he was exceedingly troubled at her condition, and went to prayer. After he had done, he turned to the company present, and said, that they who had been witnesses to that sad hour, should yet see a gracious work of God on her, and that the devil's malice, against that poor woman should have a shameful foil. Her distraction, however, continued for some days after. But still persevering in his supplications in her

behalf, he gradually became more confident of their being favourably answered, till at last, on the Tuesday morning previous to her death, on coming from his retirement, he said to the people who attended her, "Be of good comfort, for I am sure, that ere ten hours of the day, that brand shall be plucked out of the fire." After this he again went to prayer, at his wife's bedside; she continued for some time quiet, but, upon his mentioning Jacob, wrestling with God, she sat up in the bed, drew the curtain aside and said, "Thou art this day a Jacob, who hast wrestled and prevailed: and now God hath made good his word, which he spoke this morning to you, for I am plucked out of the hands of Satan, and he shall have no power over me." This interruption made him silent for a little, but afterwards with great melting of heart, he proceeded in prayer, and magnified the riches of grace towards him. From that hour she continued to utter nothing but the language of joy and comfort, until her death, which was on Friday following, August 13th, 1601.

He lived for several years after this event, fervent and faithful in the work of the ministry. In 1608, when the bishops and some commissioners convened in the palace of Falkland, with the view of forming an agreement respecting the discipline and order of the Church, towards the summoning of a general assembly, several ministers also assembled in the kirk of the town, and chose him for their moderator; who, after they had spent some time in prayer, and tasted some of the comfort of their former meetings, agreed upon some articles for concord and peace to be given in to the bishops. This Mr. Simpson and some others did in the name of the rest, but the bishops shifted them off to the next Assembly, and in the mean time took all possible precautions to strengthen their own party.

In 1610, the noblemen and bishops, having come to Stirling, after dissolving the Assembly, Mr. Simpson in preaching before them, openly charged them with perjury and gross defection. They hesitated for some time, whether they should delate him or compound the matter: but, after deliberation, they for the time dropt the affair altogether. There is no reason to doubt but he would have been subjected to the same sufferings with many others of his brethren, had he lived; but before the copestone was laid on Prelacy in Scotland, he had entered into the joy of his Lord. In March 1618, which was about five months before the Assembly at Perth, in which the five famous articles were agreed upon,* towards the establishment of Prelacy, he said, that that month should put an end to all his troubles. He died accordingly about the end of it, blessing the Lord, that he had not been perverted by the sinful courses of the times: and observing, that as the Lord had said to Elijah in the wilderness, so in some respects, he had dealt with him all the days of his life.

He wrote a history of the Church, for about ten centuries, and

* These were, 1. Kneeling at the Communion. 2. Private communion. 3. Private baptism. 4. Observation of holidays. 5. Confirmation of children.

also some other small tracts, besides a History of the Councils of the Church, which are nearly out of print. Upon some of the books in his library, he had written these remarkable words, "Remember, O my soul, and never forget the 16th of August, 1601, what consolation the Lord gave thee, and how he performed what he spake according to Zechariah, *'Is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?'*"*

ANDREW DUNCAN.

ABOUT the year 1581, after Melvill was appointed to the principality at St. Andrews, he found in Andrew Duncan, the subject of the present Memoir, a keen opponent of what were, then deemed, his unwarrantable strictures on the Aristotelian Philosophy. Duncan was at that time a Regent in St. Leonard's College, and, in common with other members of the university, regarded the novel views of the principal as calculated to destroy the credit of his teaching. But it was not long till his prejudices against that celebrated man subsided, and from being an opponent, he became one of his warmest admirers and steadiest friends.

He was afterwards settled as minister of Crail, in Fife, and became in some measure distinguished by his sufferings in favour of the Presbyterian polity. In 1605 he attended the famous Assembly at Aberdeen, and was one of the six Ministers who, in consequence of having done so, were, the year after, tried and convicted, as guilty of high treason. After having been imprisoned in Blackness Castle for fourteen months, he was with the rest of his brethren, banished to France. From thence, after an exile of about six years, he was allowed to return, on making some submissions and acknowledgments to the King and Council. He did not, however, fail when occasion offered, afterwards to display the same boldness which had formerly characterized him, in the cause of the Church. In 1619, he was summoned before the High Commission Court, at St. Andrews, on account of his faithfulness in opposing the five articles of Perth. At his first compearance he declined their authority; and at the second, adhering to his former declinature, the High Commission Court passed the sentence of deposition against him; and ordained him to enter himself in ward at Dundee. Against this sentence, he gave in a protestation, which was as follows; "Now seeing I have done nothing of this business, whereof I have been accused by you, but have been serving Jesus Christ, my Master, in rebuking vice, in simplicity and righteousness of heart, I protest, seeing ye have done me wrong, for a remedy at God's hand, the

righteous judge; and summon you before his dreadful judgment-seat, to be censured and punished for such unrighteous dealings, at such a time as He shall think expedient; and in the mean time decline this your judgment *simpliciter*, now as before, and appeal to the Ordinary Assembly of the Church, for reasons before produced in writ. Pity yourselves for the Lord's sake; lose not your own dear souls, I beseech you, for Esau's pottage: Remember Balaam, who was cast away by the deceit of the wages of unrighteousness; forget not how miserable Judas was, who lost himself for a trifle of money, which never did him good. Better be pined to death by hunger, than for a little pittance of the earth, perish for ever, and never be recovered, so long as the days of heaven shall last, and the years of eternity shall endure. Why would ye distress your own brethren, sons and servants of the Lord Jesus? This is not the doing of the shepherds of the flock of Christ: if ye will not regard your souls nor consciences, look, I beseech you to your fame: why will ye be miserable both in this life, and in the life to come."

When the bishop of St. Andrews had read some few lines of this admonition, he cast it from him; the bishop of Dunblane took it up, and reading it, said, he calis us Esaus, Balaams, and Judases. "Not so," said Mr. Duncan, "read again, beware that ye be not *like* them." And in about a month after, he was deposed for non-conformity.

In July 1621, he presented a large supplication, in name of himself, and some of his faithful brethren, who had been excluded the General Assembly, to Sir George Hay, Clerk register, on which account he was in a few days after, apprehended by the captain of the guard, and brought before the Council, who accused him of breaking ward, after he was suspended and confined to Dundee, in having preached the week before, at Crail. Duncan denied that he had been put to the horn; and as for breaking ward, he said, That for the sake of obedience he staid at Dundee, separated from a wife and six children for half a year, and that the winter approaching had forced him home. In the end he requested them not to imprison him on his own charges; but the sentence had been resolved on before he compeared. He was conveyed next day, to Blackness Castle; and remained until October thereafter, when he was again brought before the Council, and by them was confined to Kilrennie, a parish neighbouring to his own, upon his own charges.*

Upon another occasion, of the same nature, this worthy man was banished out of the kingdom, and went to settle at Berwick; but having several children, and his wife far gone in pregnancy, they were reduced to great hardships, being obliged to part with their

* This was a part of the cruel system practised by authority in those times. Faithful ministers, those who would not preach smooth things to please the court, were banished to some place, at a distance from home, to live upon *their own charges*. This would have been devoting them to starvation, had not Providence, in many instances, made provision for them, by putting it into the hearts even of strangers to supply their wants.

servant, and having scarcely subsistence sufficient for themselves. One night in particular, the children asking for bread, and there being none to give them, they cried very sore; their mother likewise was much depressed in spirit; as for Mr. Duncan he had recourse sometimes to prayer, and in the intervals endeavoured to cherish his wife's hope, and please the children, and at last got them to bed; but she continued to mourn heavily. He exhorted her to wait patiently upon God, who was now trying them, but would undoubtedly provide for them; and added that if the Lord should rain down bread from heaven, they should not want. This confidence was the more remarkable, because they had neither friend nor acquaintance in that place to whom they could make their case known. And yet before morning, a man brought them a sackful of provision, and went off, without telling them from whence it came, though entreated to do so. When Mr. Duncan opened the sack, he found in it a purse with twenty pounds Scots, two loaves of bread, a small bag of flour, another of barley, and such like provisions; and having brought the whole to his wife, he said, "See what a good Master I serve." After this she hired a servant again, but was soon reduced to a new extremity; the pains of child-bearing came upon her before she could make any provision for her delivery; but Providence interposed on their behalf at this time also. While she travailed in the night season, and the good man knew not where to apply for a midwife, a gentlewoman came riding to the door early in the morning, and having sent her servant back with the horse, with orders when to return, she went in, asked the maid how her mistress was, and desired access to her, which she obtained. She first ordered a good fire to be made, then desired Mrs. Duncan to rise, and without any other assistance than the house afforded, she delivered her; and afterwards accommodated Mrs. Duncan and the child with abundance of fine linen, which she had brought along with her. She gave her likewise a box, containing some necessary cordials, and five pieces of gold, bidding both husband and wife be of good comfort, for they should not want. After which she rode away on the horse, which was by this time returned for her; but would not tell her name, nor from whence she came.

Thus did God take his own servant under the immediate care of his providence, when men had wrongfully excluded him from enjoying his worldly comforts. He continued zealous and stedfast in the faith, and to the end of his life, his conduct was uniform with the circumstances related in this brief narrative. The following is a literal copy of his last will and testament.

I Andrew Duncan, a sinful wight, Christ's unworthy minister of his glorious gospel, being sickly and weak, worn out with years, and heaviness of heart in this pilgrimage; and being now weary of this loathsome prison, this body of death, because of sin; and having received sundry advertisements and summonses from my Master to flit out of this uncouth country, the region of death, home to my native land; and now sitting upon the prison-door threshold, ready to obey, waiting till the sad messenger be sent to convey me home

to that glorious palace, even the heavenly Jerusalem, that I may enter into possession of my heritage, even that glorious kingdom in eternity, which Christ came down from heaven to conquer for me, and then went up to prepare and possess it in my name, as my attorney, until it pleased his Majesty to take me thither, that I may in my own person possess it; I proceed to set down the declaration of my latter will, concerning those things, which God hath lent me in this world; in manner following:—First, as touching myself, body and soul; my soul I leave to Christ Jesus, who gave it, and when it was lost, redeemed it, that he may send his holy angels to transport it to the bosom of Abraham, there to enjoy all happiness and contentment; and as for this frail body, I commend it to the grave, there to sleep and rest, as in a sweet bed, until the day of refreshment, when it shall be re-united to the soul, and shall be set down at the table with the holy patriarchs, prophets, and apostles; yea, shall be placed on the throne with Christ, and get the crown of glory on my head. As for the children whom God hath given me, (for which I thank Him,) I leave them to his providence, to be governed and cared for by Him, beseeching Him to be their tutor, curator, and agent, in all their adoos, yea, and a father; and that he would lead them by his gracious Spirit, through this evil world: that they may be profitable instruments, both in Kirk and commonwealth, to set out his glory; beseeching them on the other part, (as they would have God's blessing, and mine in all their affairs,) to set him before their eyes, and to walk in his ways living peaceably in his fear, in all humility and meekness, with all those they have ado with; holding their course to heaven, and comforting themselves with the glorious and fair to-look and heritage, which Christ hath conquered for them, and for all that love him. Under God, I leave John Duncan, my eldest son, to be tutor to my youngest daughter, Bessie Duncan, his youngest sister, to take a care of her, and to see that all turns go right, touching her person and gear. For executors, I leave my three sons, John, William, and David, to do my turns after me, and to put in practice my directions; requesting them to be good and comfortable to their sisters, but chiefly to the two that are at home, as they would have God's blessing and mine. Concerning my temporal goods, the baggage and blathrie of the earth, as I have gotten them in the world from God's liberal hand, so I leave them behind me in the world; giving most humble and hearty thanks unto my heavenly Father for so long and comfortable loan of the same.—*14th April, 1626.*

JOHN SCRIMGEOUR.

WHEN in the year 1590, King James sailed for Denmark to bring home his Queen, the person called upon to attend him as chaplain.

was John Scrimgeour. He was at this time Minister of Kinghorn, in Fife, and was afterwards concerned in several important affairs of the church. In the fatal year of 1618, when the five articles of Perth were agreed on, he attended the Assembly held at that place, and gave in some proposals, upon being along with others of his faithful brethren, excluded by the prevailing party from having a vote.

In 1620, he was, with some others, summoned before the High Commission Court, for not preaching upon holidays, and not administering the communion conform to the agreement at Perth; with certification, if this was proven, that he should be deprived from exercising the functions of a minister in all time coming. But there being none present on the day appointed, except the bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and the Isles, they were dismissed at that time; but were warned again to compare on the 1st of March. The bishops caused the clerk to exact their consent to deprivation, in case they did not compare against that day. Nevertheless, they all protested with one voice, that they would never willingly renounce their ministry; and such was the resolution and courage of Scrimgeour, that, notwithstanding all the threatenings of the bishops, he celebrated the communion conform to the ancient practice of the Church, a few days thereafter.

On the day appointed for their next compareance, the bishops of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, Galloway, the Isles, Dumblane, Mr. Hewison, commissary of Edinburgh, and Dr. Blair, being assembled in the Bishop of St. Andrews' lodging in Edinburgh, Scrimgeour was again called upon to answer, and the Bishop of St. Andrews alleged against him, that he had promised either to conform or quit his ministry, as the act at his last compareance on January 26th reported. He replied, "I am sore straitened, I never saw reason to conform; and as for my ministry, it was not mine, and so I could not quit it." After long reasoning between him and the bishops concerning church policy and the keeping of holidays, he was removed for a little. Being called in again, the Bishop of St. Andrews said to him, "You are deprived of all function within the Kirk, and ordained within six days to enter in ward at Dundee." "It is a very summary and peremptory sentence," said Scrimgeour, "ye might have been advised better, and first have heard what I would have said," "You shall be heard," said the Bishop. This brought on some further reasoning, in the course of which he gave a most faithful testimony against the King's supremacy over the Church,* and,

* This was the great stumbling block of our first Protestant Sovereigns. They were not satisfied with their sovereignty over the state, but they would also be head of the Church; and they claimed more absolute authority in ecclesiastical matters, than was conceded to them in those which were merely civil. The Pope had been for ages recognized as the head of the Church, in what were called Christian kingdoms; and such Kings as James, had no idea of a Church without an earthly head; and then, who should that head be,—who could it be but himself? He had the example of Henry VIII. of England, and even of his daughter Elizabeth, claiming that headship, and having it almost universally conceded by

among other things, said, I have had opportunity to reason with the King himself on this subject, and have told him, that Christ was the sovereign, and only Director of his own house ; and that to Him his Majesty was subject. I have had occasion to tell other men's matters to the King, and could have truly claimed this great preferment." " I tell you, Mr. John," said the bishop of St. Andrews, " that the King is Pope, and shall be so now." He replied, " That is an evil style you give him." And then gave in his reasons in writ, which they read at leisure. Afterwards the Bishop said to him, " Take up your reasons again ; if you will not conform I cannot help it ; the King must be obeyed, the Lords have given sentence, and will stand to it." " Ye cannot deprive me of my ministry," said Mr. Scrimgeour ; " I received it not from you ; I received it from the whole Synod of Fife, and, for any thing ye do, I will never think myself deposed." The Bishop replied, " You are deprived only of the present exercise of it." Then he presented the following protestation : " I protest before the Lord Jesus, that I get manifest wrong : my reasons and allegations are not considered and answered. I attest you to answer at his glorious appearance ; for this and such dealings, and protest, that my cause should have been heard as I pled, and still plead and challenge. I likewise appeal to the Lord Jesus ; his eternal word, to the King, my dread Sovereign, his law, to the constitution of this Kirk and kingdom, to the Councils and Assemblies of both, and protest, that I stand minister of the evangel, and only by violence I am thrust from the same." " You must obey the sentence," said the Bishop. He answered, That Dundee was far off, and he was not able for long journies, " as physicians can witness." And he added, " Little know ye what is in my purse." " Then where will ye choose the place of your confinement," said the Bishop. He answered, " At a little room of my own, called Bowhill, in the parish of Auchterderran." Then said the Bishop, " Write 'at Bowhill, during the King's pleasure.'" Thus this worthy servant of Christ lived the rest of his days at Auchterderran.

In his old age he was grievously afflicted with the stone. He said to a godly minister, who went to see him a little before his death, " I have been a rude stunkard all my life, and now by this pain the Lord is humbling me to make me as a lamb before he take me to himself." He was a man somewhat rude in his clothing, and likewise in some of his expressions and behaviour ; and yet was a very loving tender-hearted man ; of a deep natural judgment ; and

English Protestants. But such a thing would not go down in Scotland, among the disciples of John Knox and Melville. They maintained the sole headship and authority of Christ in his Church. For adherents to this truth, many of them suffered the loss of all things, even of life itself. They were not aware, perhaps, of all the extent and bearing of the principle ; and, therefore, some of them may have made mistakes in the application of it ; but for their steadfast maintenance of the principle itself, we owe them a debt of everlasting gratitude.

W. M. G.

very learned, especially in Hebrew. He often wished that most part of books were burnt, except the Bible and some short notes thereon. He had a peculiar talent for comforting the dejected. He used a very familiar, but pressing manner of preaching. He was also an eminent wrestler with God, and had more than ordinary success in that exercise, as appears from the following instances.

While minister of Kinghorn, there was a certain godly woman under his charge, who fell sick of a very lingering disease, and was all the while assaulted with strong temptations, leading her to think that she was a cast-away, notwithstanding that her whole conversation had put the reality of grace in her beyond a doubt. He often visited her while in this deep exercise, but her trouble and terrors still remained; and as her dissolution drew on, her spiritual trouble increased. He went with two of his elders, and began first himself to comfort and pray with her; but she still grew worse. He then ordered his elders to pray, and afterwards again prayed himself, but no relief came. Then sitting pensive for a little space, he thus broke silence: "What is this! Our laying grounds of comfort before her will not do: prayer will not do. We must try another remedy. Sure I am, this is a daughter of Abraham; sure I am, she hath sent for me; and therefore, in the name of God, the Father of our Lord Jesus, who sent him to redeem sinners; in the name of Jesus Christ, who obeyed the Father, and came to save us; and in the name of the Holy and Blessed Spirit, our Quickener and Sanctifier—I, the elder, command thee, a daughter of Abraham, to be loosed from these bonds." And immediately peace and joy ensued.

He had several friends and children taken away by death; and the only daughter who at that time survived, and whom he dearly loved, being seized with the king's evil, and reduced to the very point of death, he was called up to see her die. Finding her in this condition, he went out to the fields, (as he himself told,) in the night time, in great grief and anxiety, and began to expostulate with the Lord, in such expressions as, for all the world, he durst not again utter. In a fit of displeasure, he said, "Thou, O Lord, knowest that I have been serving thee in the uprightness of my heart, according to my power and measure; nor have I stood in awe to declare thy mind even unto the greatest in the time, and thou seest that I take pleasure in this child. O that I could obtain such a thing at thy hand as to spare her!" And being in great agony of spirit, at last it was said to him from the Lord, "I have heard thee at this time, but use not the like boldness in time coming." When he came home the child was greatly recovered, and, sitting up in the bed, took some meat.

JOHN WELCH.

JOHN WELCH was by birth a gentleman, his father being Laird of



JOHN JONATHAN WELLS

Collieston, an estate in Nithsdale, rather competent than large. He was born about the year 1570, and through life was a rich example of grace and mercy. But with him the night went before the day, for he was a most hopeless extravagant boy. It was not enough for him, when a stripling, frequently to run away from school, and play the truant; but, after he had past his grammar, and was become a youth, he left the school, and his father's house, and went and joined himself to the thieves on the English border, who lived by robbing the two nations, and remained amongst them till he had worn out his clothes. When he came to be in rags, the prodigal's misery brought him to the prodigal's resolution, so he resolved to return to his father's house, but durst not adventure till he should interpose a reconciler. In his return homewards he took Dumfries in his way, where he had an aunt, and with her spent some days, earnestly entreating her to intercede with his father. While he remained in her house, his father came on a visit to her, and after conversing a while, she asked him, whether he ever heard any word of his son John? To this he replied, with great grief, "O cruel woman, how can you name him to me! The first news I expect to hear of him, is, that he is hanged for a thief." She answered him, "Many a profligate boy has become a virtuous man," attempting to comfort him. He insisted however on his sad complaint; but asked, "Whether she knew if his lost son was yet alive?" She answered, "Yes; and hoped he should prove a better man than he was a boy;" and with that she called upon him to come to his father. He came weeping, and knelted, beseeching his father for Christ's sake, to pardon his misconduct, and engaging deeply to be a new man. His father reproached and threatened him. Yet at length by his tears, and his aunt's importunities, he was persuaded to a reconciliation. The boy entreated his father to send him to college, and there to try his behaviour; and if ever after he should break off, he said, he should be content that his father disclaimed him for ever. His father accordingly took him home, and put him to college, and there he became a diligent student, and showed himself a sincere convert; and so he proceeded to the ministry.

His first settlement was at Selkirk, while he was yet very young, and the country very rude. While there, his ministry was rather admired by some, than received by many; for he was always attended with the prophet's shadow, the hatred of the wicked; yea, even the ministers of that country, were more ready to pick a quarrel with his person, than to follow his doctrine, as appears to this day in their synodical records, where we find he had many to censure him, and few to defend him. Yet it was thought his ministry in that place was not without fruit, though it continued but a short time. Being unmarried, he boarded himself in the house of one Mitchellhill, and took a young boy of his to be his companion, who to his dying day retained the highest respect both for Mr. Welch and his ministry, from the strong impression made upon him, though but a child. His custom was, when he went to bed at night, to lay a Scots plaid above his bedclothes, that when he sat up to his night prayers, he

might cover himself therewith; for from the beginning of his ministry to his death, he reckoned the day ill spent, if he stayed not seven or eight hours in prayer; and this the boy did not forget even to old age. An old man of the name of Ewart in Selkirk, who remembered his ministry in that place, said "he was a type of Christ," an expression more significant than proper, for his meaning was, that he was one that imitated Christ, as indeed in many things he did. He also said that his custom was to preach publicly once every day, and to spend his whole time in spiritual exercises; that some in that place waited well upon his ministry, with great tenderness; but that he was constrained to leave that place, because of the malice of the wicked.

The special cause of his departure was, the enmity of a certain profane gentleman of that country, (Scott of Headschaw, whose family is now extinct) who, either because Welch had reproved him, or merely from hatred, treated him most unworthily. Among the rest of the injuries he did him, one which strongly indicates his inhumanity, was his, either with his own hand, or by that of some of his servants, cutting off the rumps of Mr. Welch's two horses, in consequence of which they both died. Such base usage as this persuaded him to listen to a call to the ministry at Kirkcudbright, which was his next station.

When about to leave Selkirk, he could not find a man in all the town to transport his furniture, except Ewart, who was at that time a poor young man, but master of two horses, with which he transported Mr. Welch's goods, and so left him. As he took his leave, Mr. Welch gave him his blessing, and a piece of gold for a token, exhorting him to fear God, and saying he should thus never want; which saying providence made good through the whole course of the man's life, as was observed by all his neighbours.

At Kirkcudbright he did not stay long; but he there reaped a harvest of converts which subsisted long after his departure, and became part of Mr. Rutherford's flock, while he was minister of Anwoth: yet when his call to Ayr came, the people of the parish of Kirkcudbright never offered to detain him, and so his transportation thither was the more easy.

Mr. Welch was transported to Ayr in 1590, and there continued till banished, with others of his brethren from Scotland, in 1606. In this place he had a very hard beginning but a very sweet end; for when he came first to the town, the country was so wicked, and the hatred of godliness so great, that there could not one in all the town be found, who would let him a house to dwell in. He was therefore constrained to accommodate himself for the time, the best way he could, in a part of a friend's house. The gentleman who thus hospitably received him, was John Stuart, merchant, and sometime provost of Ayr, an eminent christian, and great assistant of Mr. Welch's.

When he first took up his residence in that town, it was so divided into factions, and bloody conflicts so frequent, that a man could hardly walk the streets with safety; he therefore made it his

first undertaking to remove, if possible, such bloody quarrellings. He found it, indeed, a very difficult work, yet such was his earnestness in pushing his design, that many times he would rush betwixt two parties of men fighting, even in the midst of blood and wounds. He used to cover his head with a helmet when he went, in this way, to separate enemies ; but never took a sword, that thus they might see he came for peace, and not for war ; and so, by little and little, he rendered the town a peaceable habitation.

His manner was, after he had put an end to a skirmish amongst neighbours, and reconciled bitter enemies, to cause cover a table upon the street, at which he brought the enemies together ; and, beginning with prayer, he persuaded them to profess themselves friends, and eat and drink together ; then, last of all, he ended the work with singing a psalm. And, after the rude people began to observe his example, and listen to his heavenly doctrine, he rose to such respect amongst them, that he became not only a necessary counsellor, without whose counsel they would do nothing, but also an example to be imitated.

He gave himself wholly to ministerial exercises ; he preached once every day, prayed the third part of his time, and was unwearied in his studies. As a proof of this, it was found among his papers, that he had abridged Suarez's *Metaphysics*, when they came first to his hand, even when he was well stricken in years. By all which it appears, that he was not only a man of great diligence, but also of a strong and robust constitution, otherwise he had never endured such fatigue.

Sometimes, before he went to sermon, he would send for his elders, and tell them he was afraid to go to the pulpit ; because he found himself sore deserted : and having desired one or more of them to pray, he would then venture to the pulpit. But it was observed, this humbling exercise used ordinarily to be followed with an extraordinary assistance : so near neighbours are often such contrary dispositions and frames. He would many times retire to the church, which was at some little distance from the town, and there spend the whole night in prayer ; for he used to allow his affections full expression, and prayed not only with an audible, but sometimes a loud voice.

There was in Ayr, when he came to it, an aged minister called Porterfield who was judged no bad man for his personal dispositions, but so easy in his conduct that he used many times to join with his neighbours in many improper practices ; amongst others, he used to go to the bow-butts and archery on the Sabbath afternoon, to Mr. Welch's great dissatisfaction. But the way he used to reclaim him was not by severe but gentle policy. Together with John Stuart, and Hugh Kennedy, his two intimate friends, he used to spend the Sabbath afternoon in religious conference and prayer ; To this exercise they invited Mr. Porterfield, and as he could not refuse to attend, he was by this means not only diverted from his sinful practice, but likewise brought to a more watchful and edifying behaviour during the course of his life.

It also happened during his residence at Ayr, that at a gentleman's house about eight miles distant, the Lord's day was greatly profaned, by reason of a great confluence of people playing at the foot-ball, and other pastimes. After writing several times to him, to suppress this profanation, without effect, Mr. Welch came one day to his gate, called him out and said, that he had this message from God to him, that because he had slighted the advice already given him, therefore the Lord would cast him out of his house, and none of his posterity should enjoy it. This accordingly came to pass; for although he was in good external circumstances at the time, yet henceforth every thing went against him, till he was obliged at last to sell his estate; and in giving the purchaser possession thereof, he declared to his wife and children that he had found Mr. Welch a true prophet.*

He married Elizabeth Knox, daughter of John Knox the reformer, and by her had three sons.†

As the duty wherein Mr. Welch abounded and excelled most was in prayer, so his greatest attainments arose from that duty. He used to wonder how a Christian could lie in bed all night, and not rise to pray; and many times he rose from his sleep, and watched. One night he rose and having gone into the next room, he staid so long at secret prayer, that his wife fearing he might catch cold, was constrained to rise and follow him, and, as she hearkened, she heard him speak in broken sentences, "Lord wilt thou not grant me Scotland;" and, after a pause, "Enough, Lord, enough;" and so she returned to bed, and he following, she asked him, What he meant by saying, "Enough, Lord, enough?" He shewed himself dissatisfied with her curiosity: but told her he had been wrestling with the Lord for Scotland, and found there was a sad time at hand, but that the Lord would be gracious to a remnant. This was about the time when the bishops first overspread the land, and corrupted the Church. But though Mr. Welch had, upon account of his holiness, abilities, and success, acquired a very great respect, yet was he never in such admiration as after the great plague which raged in Scotland in his time.

* See Mr. Welch's disputation with Gilbert Brown the Papist, in the Preface.

† The first was Dr. Welch, a doctor of Medicine, who was unhappily killed, by an innocent mistake in the Low Countries.

Another son he lost at sea, under very lamentable circumstances. When the ship in which he was, sunk, he swam to a rock in the sea, but starved there for want of food, and when sometime after his body was recovered, he was found in a praying posture, upon his bended knees, with his hands stretched out, which was all the satisfaction his friends and the world had upon his lamentable death.

Another named Josias, was heir to his father's graces and blessings, and was minister at Templepatrick, in the north of Ireland. He was one of that blessed society of ministers, which wrought the extraordinary work in the north of Ireland, about the year 1636 but was himself a man most sadly exercised with doubts, and would often say, That minister was much to be pitied, who was called to comfort weak saints, and had no comfort himself. He died in his youth, and left as his successor, Mr. John Welch, who, as minister of Irongray in Galloway, was afterwards so distinguished, during the persecution on account of Episcopacy

And one cause was this ; the magistrates of Ayr, forasmuch as the town alone was free, and the country about infected, thought fit to guard the ports with sentinels and watchmen. One day, two travelling merchants, each with a pack of cloth upon a horse, came, desiring entrance, that they might sell their goods, and producing a pass from the magistrates of the town from whence they came, which at that time was sound and free. Notwithstanding all this, the sentinels stopt them till the magistrates were called ; and when they came, they would do nothing without their minister's advice. Accordingly Mr. Welch was called, and his opinion asked. He demurred, and taking off his hat, he stood with his eyes towards heaven for a little while, and though uttering no audible words, continued in a praying posture. He then told the magistrates they would do well to discharge the travellers, affirming with strong asseveration, that the plague was in their packs. Of course the magistrates commanded them to be gone, and they went to Cumnock, a town about twenty miles distant, and there sold their goods ; which kindled such an infection in that place, that the living were hardly able to bury their dead. This made the people begin to think of him as an oracle. But whilst he walked thus with God, and kept close to him, he did not forget his fellow-men, for he used frequently to dine abroad with such of his friends, as he thought were persons with whom he might maintain the communion of saints : and once in the year, he used to invite his familiar acquaintances in the town to a treat in his house, where there was a banquet of holiness and sobriety.

He continued the course of his ministry in Ayr, till King James' purpose of destroying the church of Scotland, by establishing bishops, was ripe for execution and then it became his duty to edify the church by his sufferings, as already he had done by his doctrine.

The reason why King James was so violent for bishops, was neither their divine institution, which he denied, nor yet the profit the church should reap by them, for he knew well both the men and their manners, but merely because he believed they would be useful instruments to turn a limited monarchy into absolute dominion, and subjects into slaves, the design in the world he most minded. Always in the pursuit of this design, he in the first place, resolved to destroy General Assemblies, knowing well that so long as Assemblies might convene in freedom, bishops could never get authority in Scotland ; and the dissolution of Assemblies he brought about in this manner.

The General Assembly at Holyroodhouse, in 1602, with the King's consent, appointed a meeting to be held at Aberdeen, the last Tuesday of July 1604 : but before that day came, the King, by his commissioner the Laird of Laurieston, and Patrick Galloway, Moderator of the last General Assembly, in a letter directed to the several presbyteries, prorogued the meeting till the first Tuesday of July 1605, and again, in June 1605, the expected meeting was by a new letter from the King's Commissioner, and the commissioners of

the General Assembly, absolutely discharged and prohibited, but without naming any day or place, for any other Assembly. Thus the series of our Assemblies expired, never to be revived again in due form, till the covenant was renewed in 1638. However, a number of the godly ministers of Scotland, knowing well, if once the hedge of the government was broken down, corruption of doctrine would soon follow, resolved not to quit their Assemblies so. They therefore convened at Aberdeen, upon the first Tuesday of July 1605, being the last day that was distinctly appointed by authority; and when they had met, did no more but constitute themselves, and dissolve. Of this number was Mr. Welch, who, though he had not been present upon the precise day, yet because he came to the place, and approved what his brethren had done, was accused as guilty of the treasonable acts committed by them.

Within a month after the meeting, many of the godly men were incarcerated, some in one prison, some in another. Mr. Welch was sent first to Edinburgh tolbooth, and then to Blackness: and so from prison to prison, till he was banished to France, never to see Scotland again. And now the scene of his life begins to alter; but, before his sufferings, he had the following warning.

After the meeting at Aberdeen, he retired immediately to Ayr; and one night having risen from bed and gone into his garden, as his custom was, he staid somewhat longer than ordinary. This in some degree alarmed his wife, who, when he returned, expostulated with him very hard for staying so long to wrong his health. but he bid her be quiet, saying, all should be well with them. He well knew however, he should never preach more at Ayr; and accordingly, before the next Sabbath, he was carried prisoner to Blackness castle. After this, he, with many others who had met at Aberdeen, were brought before the Council at Edinburgh, to answer for their rebellion and contempt, in holding a General Assembly not authorized by the King. And because they declined the Privy Council as competent judges in causes purely spiritual, such as the nature and constitution of a General Assembly, they were remitted to prison at Blackness, and other places. Thereafter, six of the most considerable,* were brought over night to

* It is related of these pious and devoted men, that in travelling from Blackness to Edinburgh early in a winter morning, long before sun-rise, with the view of appearing before an iniquitous tribunal, they comforted their hearts, while they expressed their confidence in God, by chanting the metrical version of the 11th Psalm. As to their trial, it "was conducted in the most illegal and unjust manner. The King's advocate told the Jury, that the only thing which came under their cognizance, was the fact of the declination, the judges having already found that it was treasonable; and threatened them with an *ATTEINTE OF ERROR* if they did not proceed as he directed them. After the Jury were empannelled, the Justice Clerk went in, and threatened them with his Majesty's displeasure if they acquitted the prisoners. The greater part of the Jurors being still reluctant, the Chancellor went out and consulted with the other Judges, who promised, that no punishment would be inflicted on the prisoners, provided the jury brought in a verdict agreeable to the court. By such disgraceful methods, they were induced

Linlithgow, before the criminal judges, to answer to an accusation of high treason, at the instance of the King's advocate, for declining, as he alleged, the King's lawful authority, in refusing to admit the Council as judges competent in the cause; and, after their accusation and answer was read, they were by the verdict of a jury, condemned as guilty, the punishment being deferred till the King's pleasure should be known, which, sometime after was declared to be banishment.*

While he was in Blackness, Welch wrote his famous letter to Lillias Graham, Countess of Wigton; in which he expresses, in the strongest terms, his consolation in suffering; his desire to be dissolved, and be with the Lord; the judgments he foresaw coming upon Scotland; the true cause of the sufferings, and the true state of the testimony, which he and those along with him exhibited:—

“Who am I, that he should first have called me, and then constituted me a minister of the glad tidings of the gospel of salvation these years past, and now, last of all, to be a sufferer for his cause and kingdom! Now let it be so that I have fought my fight, and

at midnight to find by a majority of three, that the prisoners were guilty, upon which they were condemned to suffer the death of traitors.” See M'Crie's *Life of Knox*. Vol. II. pp. 270—1.

• It may perhaps be regarded as a matter of surprise, that the senseless and intolerant despot who had instituted such unwarrantable proceedings, and pronounced such a condemnatory verdict against them, should have been satisfied with awarding a sentence short of death. And certainly it is difficult to suppose, that in such a decision as is here recorded, he was actuated by any motive but what the most narrow and selfish views of policy, may be expected to suggest. The truth seems therefore to have been, that with all his short-sightedness, even as to his own true interests, and with all the fury of passion, and unquenchable self-will, by which he was characterised, James was sufficiently aware of the strong and decided partiality, which the nation evinced in favour of the sufferers, to be deterred, by a dread of the consequences, from carrying his proceedings against them, to a fatal issue. Instead, therefore, of the punishment of death, which the law awards to traitors, he contented himself by condemning them to banishment in France, and after about fourteen months imprisonment, this sentence was carried into rigorous execution. That even this modified sentence, however, was unjustifiable to the very last degree, is apparent not only from every candid and unbiassed view of the case, but from the deep and universal sympathy which it drew forth, on the part of the public. Nothing could be more striking and impressive than the exhibition of this feeling, on the occasion of their departure, from their native land. The scene which was then presented, on the shore of Leith, must have been one of the most interesting and affecting that can well be conceived. At two o'clock, in a morning of November, they were conducted to the beach in order to embark. There, a vast multitude had already assembled, to bid them a last adieu. At such a moment, and by such men, it was impossible that the consolations and supports of religion should be forgotten or overlooked. Mr. Welch offered up a most pathetic prayer. The company then joined in singing the 23d Psalm, after which the exiled families tore themselves away followed by the prayers and tears of hundreds of weeping friends.

run my race, henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous God, will give, not to me only, but to all that love his appearing, and choose to witness that Jesus Christ is the King of saints; and that his Church is a free kingdom, yea as free as any kingdom under heaven, not only to convocate, hold, and keep her meetings, conventions and assemblies; but also to judge all her affairs, in all her meetings and conventions, amongst her members and subjects. These two points, 1. That Christ is the head of the Church, 2. That she is free in her government from all other jurisdiction except His: These two points, I say, are the special cause of our imprisonment; being now convicted as traitors for maintaining them. We have been ever waiting with joyfulness to give the best testimony of our blood in confirmation thereof, if it should please our God to be so favourable, as to honour us with that dignity; yea, I do affirm, that these two points above written, and all other things which belong to Christ's crown, sceptre, and kingdom, are not subject nor cannot be, to any other authority, but His. So that I would be most glad to be offered up as a sacrifice for so glorious a truth: It would be to me the most glorious day, and the gladdest hour I ever saw in this life; but I am in His hand, to do with me whatsoever shall please Him.

"I am also bound and sworn, by a special covenant, to maintain the doctrine and discipline thereof, according to my vocation and power, all the days of my life, under all the pains contained in the book of God, and danger of body and soul, in the day of God's fearful judgment; and therefore, though I should perish in the cause, yet will I speak for it, and to my power defend it, according to my vocation."

He wrote about the same time to Sir William Livingstone of Kilsyth. There are some prophetic expressions in his letter which merit notice.

"As for that instrument, Spottiswood, we are sure the Lord will never bless that man, but a malediction lies upon him, and shall accompany all his doings; and it may be, Sir, your eyes shall see as great confusion covering him, ere he go to his grave, as ever did his predecessors. Now, surely, Sir, I am far from bitterness, but here I denounce the wrath of an everlasting God against him, which assuredly shall fall, except it be prevented. Sir, Dagon shall not stand before the ark of the Lord; and these names of blasphemy that he wears, of Arch and Lord Bishop, will have a fearful end. Not one beek is to be given to Haman, and suppose he were as great a courtier as ever *he* was, suppose the decree was given out, and sealed with the King's ring, deliverance will come to us elsewhere and not by him, who has been so sore an instrument, not against our persons, that were nothing, (for I protest to you, Sir, in the sight of God, I forgive him all the evil he has done, or can do, to me,) but unto Christ's poor Kirk, in trampling under foot so glorious a kingdom, as was once in this land. He has helped to cut Sampson's hair, and to expose him to mocking; but the Lord will not be mocked. He shall be cast away as a stone out of a

sling ; his name shall rot ; and a malediction shall fall upon his posterity after he is gone. Let this, Sir, be a monument, that it was told before, that when it shall come to pass, it may be seen there was warning given him. And therefore, Sir, seeing I have not access myself, if it would please God to move you, I wish you would deliver this hand-message to him, not as from me, but from the Lord."

Spottiswood, of whom he complains, was at the time Archbishop of Glasgow ; and these sayings were punctually accomplished, though after the period of forty years : For, first, the Bishop, himself died in a strange land, and, as many say, in misery ; next his son Robert Spottiswood, sometime president of the Session, was beheaded by the Parliament of Scotland, at the market cross of St. Andrews, in the winter after the battle of Philiphaugh, and on coming to the scaffold, Blair the minister of the town observed to him ; that now Mr. Welch's prophecy was fulfilled : to which he replied in anger, that both Mr. Welch and he were false prophets.

But there are other remarkable passages in his behaviour, before leaving Scotland, which deserve to be remembered. And, first, when the dispute about Church government began to grow warm, as he was walking upon the streets of Edinburgh, betwixt two honest citizens, he told them, They had in their town two great ministers, who were no great friends to Christ's cause at present in controversy, but it should be seen, the world should never hear of their repentance. The two men were Patrick Galloway and John Hall ; who both died in solitude without there being an individual to witness or to soothe their parting moments.

He was some time prisoner in Edinburgh castle before he went into exile ; where, one night sitting at supper with Lord Ochiltree, who was uncle to his wife, he, as his manner was, entertained the company with godly and edifying discourse. This was well received by all except a debauched young gentleman, who sometimes laughed, and sometimes mocked and made wry faces ; upon which, Mr. Welch, of a sudden, broke out into an abrupt charge upon the company to be silent, and observe the work of the Lord upon that profane mocker, who, wonderful to tell, immediately sunk down and died beneath the table, to the great astonishment of all present.

Another wonderful story they tell of him at the same time :— Lord Ochiltree, the captain of the castle, in consequence of his relationship, was generally very civil to Mr. Welch ; but being for a long time, through the multitude of affairs, kept from visiting him in his chamber, he, as he was one day walking in the court, having observed him at his window, asked him kindly, how he did, and if in any thing he could serve him ? Mr. Welch answered, that he would earnestly entreat his Lordship, being at that time to go to Court, to petition King James in his name, that he might have liberty to preach the gospel ; which my Lord promised to do. He then said, " My Lord, both because you are my kinsman, and for other reasons, I would earnestly entreat and obtest you not to promise, except you faithfully perform." His Lordship answered, he

would faithfully perform his promise; and so went to London. But though, at his first arrival, he really purposed to present the petition, he found the king in such a rage against the condemned ministers, that he durst not present it at that time, so he thought fit to delay, and thereafter entirely forgot it.

The first time Mr. Welch saw him after his return, he asked him what he had done with his petition. His Lordship answered, he had presented it to the King, but that the King was in so great a rage against the ministers at that time, he believed it had been forgotten, for he got no answer. Nay, said Mr. Welch to him, my Lord, you should not lie to God, and to me, for I know you never delivered it, though I warned you to take heed not to undertake the affair except you would perform it; but because you have dealt so unfaithfully, remember God shall take from you both estate and honours, and give them to your neighbour in your own time; which accordingly came to pass, for both his estate and honours were in his own time translated to James Stuart, who was indeed a cadet, but not the lineal heir of the family.

It is also related that, while he was detained prisoner in the castle, his wife, who used for the most part to stay in his company, upon a time fell into a longing to see her family at Ayr, to which with some difficulty he yielded: and that when she was about to take her journey, he strictly charged her not to go the ordinary way to the house, when she came to Ayr, nor to pass by the bridge through the town, but to pass the river above the bridge, and so get to the house, without coming into the town; for, said he, "before you arrive, you shall find the plague broken out in Ayr;" which accordingly was the case.

The plague was at that time very terrible, and it was to him the more grievous, that he was necessarily separate from his people. When the people of Ayr came to him to bemoan themselves, he advised, that Hugh Kennedy, a godly gentleman of the town, should pray for them, saying that God would hear him. This counsel they accepted, and the gentleman, convening a number of the honest citizens, prayed earnestly for the town, and the plague decreased.

The time being come, when he must leave Scotland, never to see it again, he on the 7th of November 1606, with his associates took ship at Leith; and though it was at two o'clock in the morning, many were waiting with their afflicted families, to bid them farewell.* After prayer, they sung the 23d psalm, and having, to the great grief of the spectators, set sail for the south of France, they landed in the river of Bourdeaux. Such was the Lord's blessing upon his diligence, that within fourteen weeks after his arrival, he

* With Mr. Welch, other five godly ministers were banished for the same cause, viz. John Forbes, who went to Middleburgh, to the English chapel there; Robert Dury, who went to Holland, and was minister to the Scots congregation in Leyden; John Sharp, who became minister and professor of Divinity at Die in the Dauphinate; and Andrew Duncan and Alexander Strachan, who, some time after, got liberty to return to their former places. *Calderswood's Hist.*

was able to preach in French : and accordingly was soon after called to the ministry ; first in a village, called Nerac, and thereafter in St. Jean d'Angely, a considerable walled town ; where he continued during the rest of the time he sojourned in France, which was about sixteen years. When he began to preach, it was observed by some of his hearers, that while he continued in the doctrinal part of his sermon, he spoke very correct French, but when he came to his application, and when his affections kindled, his fervour made him sometimes neglect the accuracy of the French construction. There were some godly young men who admonished him of this, and so for preventing mistakes of that kind, he desired them, when they perceived him beginning to fall into them, to give him a sign, by standing up ; and thereafter he became more exact in his expression through his whole sermon ; so desirous was he, not only to deliver good matter, but to recommend it by correct language.

There were often persons of high rank in his auditory, before whom he was just as bold as ever he had been in a Scottish village. This led Mr. Boyd of Trochrig once to ask him, after he had preached before the university of Saumur, with as much boldness and authority, as if he had been addressing the meanest congregation ; how he could be so confident among strangers, and persons of quality ? To which he answered, That he was so filled with the dread of God, he had no apprehensions from man at all, " an answer," said Mr. Boyd, " which did not remove my admiration, but rather increased it."

There was in his house, amongst many others who boarded with him for good education, a young gentleman, heir to Lord Ochiltree, captain of the castle of Edinburgh. This young nobleman, after he had gained very much upon Mr. Welch's affections, fell ill of a grievous sickness, and after he had been long wasted with it, he, to the apprehension of all spectators, closed his eyes, and expired. He was therefore taken out of his bed, and laid on a pallet on the floor, that his body might be more conveniently dressed. This was to Mr. Welch a very great grief, and therefore he stayed with the dead body full three hours, lamenting over him with great tenderness. After twelve hours, the friends brought in a coffin, and desired the corpse might be put into it, as the custom is ; but Mr. Welch requested that, for his satisfaction, they would forbear it for a time. This they granted, and returned not till twenty-four hours after his death, and then desired, with great importunity, that the corpse might be coffined and speedily buried, the weather being extremely hot ; he still persisted, however, in his request, earnestly begging them to excuse him once more ; so they left the corpse upon the pallet for full thirty-six hours ; but even after that, though he was urged not only with great earnestness, but with some displeasure, they were constrained to forbear for twelve hours more. After forty-eight hours were past, he still held out against them ; and then his friends perceiving that he believed the young man was not really dead, but under some fit ; proposed to him, for satisfaction, that trial

should be made upon his body if possibly any spark of life might be found in him ; to which he agreed. The doctors accordingly were set to work ; they pinched him in the fleshy part of his body, and twisted a bow-string about his head with great force ; but no sign of life appearing, they pronounced him dead, and then there was no more delay to be made. Yet Mr. Welch begged of them ~~once more~~ that they would but step into the next room for an hour or two, and leave him with the dead youth ; and this they granted. He then fell down before the pallet, and cried to the Lord, with all his might, and sometimes looking upon the dead body, he continued to wrestle with the Lord, till at length the youth opened his eyes, and cried out to Mr. Welch, whom he distinctly knew, " O Sir, I am all whole, but my head and legs ;" and these were the places hurt with the pinching.

When Mr. Welch perceived this, he called his friends, and shewed them the dead young man restored to life again, to their great astonishment. And this young nobleman, though he lost the estate of Ochiltree, lived to acquire a great estate in Ireland, became Lord Castlestuart, and was a man of such excellent parts, that he was courted by the Earl of Stafford to be a counsellor in Ireland. This he refused to be, till the godly silenced Scottish ministers, who suffered under the bishops in the north of Ireland, were restored to the exercise of their ministry. He then engaged, and continued during his whole life, not only in honour and power, but in the profession and practice of godliness, to the great comfort of the country where he lived. This story the nobleman himself communicated to his friends in Ireland.

While Mr. Welch was minister in one of the above named places, upon an evening, a certain Popish friar travelling through the country, because he could not find a lodging in the whole village, addressed himself to his house for a night. The servants acquainted their master, and he was willing to receive him. The family had supped before he came, and so the servants shewed the friar to his chamber : and after they had made his supper, they left him to his rest. There was but a timber partition betwixt him and Mr. Welch, and after the friar had slept his first sleep, he was surprised at hearing a constant whispering noise.

The next morning he walked in the fields, where he chanced to meet with a countryman, who saluting him because of his habit, asked him, where he had lodged that night ? The friar answered, he had lodged with the Huguenot minister. Then the countryman asked him, what entertainment he had ? The friar answered, very bad : for, said he, I always held, that devils haunted these ministers' houses, and am persuaded there was one with me this night, for I heard a continual whisper all the night over, and I believe it was nothing else than the minister and the devil conversing together. The countryman told him he was much mistaken, and that it was nothing else than the minister at his nightly prayers. " O," said the friar, " does the minister pray any ?" " Yes, more than any man in France," answered the countryman : " and if you please to stay

another night with him, you may be satisfied." The friar accordingly went back to Mr. Welch's, and, pretending indisposition, entreated another night's lodging, which was granted him.

Before dinner, Mr. Welch came from his chamber, and made the family exercise, according to custom. He first sung a psalm, then read a portion of scripture, and discoursed upon it; thereafter he prayed with great fervour; to all which the friar was an astonished witness. After exercise they went to dinner, where the friar was very civilly entertained, Mr. Welch forbearing all question and dispute with him for the time. When the evening came, Mr. Welch made exercise as he had done in the morning, which occasioned more wonder to the friar; and after supper they went to bed. But the friar longed much to know what the night whisper was, and in this he was soon satisfied; for after Mr. Welch's first sleep, the noise began; the friar then resolved to be certain what it was; and to that end he crept silently to Mr. Welch's chamber door, where he heard not only the sound, but the words, distinctly, and had an example of communion betwixt God and man, such as he thought had not been in this world. The next morning, as soon as Mr. Welch was ready, the friar went to him, and said, that he had lived in ignorance the whole of his life, but now was resolved to adventure his soul with him, and thereupon declared himself a Protestant. Mr. Welch welcomed and encouraged him; and he continued a Protestant to his death.

When Louis XIII. King of France, made war upon the Protestants, because of their religion, the city of St. Jean d'Angely was besieged by him with his whole army, and brought into extreme danger. Mr. Welch was minister of the town, and mightily encouraged the citizens to hold out, assuring them God would deliver them. In the time of the siege, a cannon ball pierced the bed where he was lying, upon which he got up: but would not leave the room, till he had by solemn prayer, acknowledged his deliverance. The townsmen made a stout defence, till one of the King's gunners planted a gun so conveniently upon a rising ground, that therewith he could command the whole wall, upon which, they for the most part were stationed. Upon this, they were constrained to forsake the wall, and though they had several guns upon it, no man durst undertake to manage them. This being told to Mr. Welch, he, notwithstanding, encouraged them to hold out, and running to the wall, found the cannonier, who was a Burgundian, near it, and having entreated him to mount, promised to assist him in person. The cannonier told him, that they behoved to dismount the gun upon the rising ground, else they were surely lost. Mr. Welch desired him to aim well, that he would serve, and God would help him. The gunner fell to work, and Mr. Welch ran to fetch powder for a charge; but as he was returning, the King's gunner fired his piece, which carried the ladle with the powder out of his hands. This did not discourage him; for having left the ladle, he filled his hat with powder, wherewith the gunner dismounted the King's gun at the first shot, and the citizens returned to their post of defence.

This disappointed the King so much, that he sent to the citizens to offer them conditions, viz. That they should enjoy the liberty of their religion, and their civil privileges, that their walls should not be demolished, and that the King only desired to enter the city in a friendly manner with his servants. This the city thought fit to grant, and the King, with a few more, entered the city for a short time. While the King was in the city, Mr. Welch preached as usual. This offended the French court; and while he was at sermon, the King sent the Duke de Esperon to fetch him out of the pulpit into his presence. The Duke went with his guard, but when he entered the church, Mr. Welch commanded to make way, and to place a seat, that the Duke might hear the word of the Lord. The Duke, instead of interrupting him, sat down, and gravely heard the sermon to an end; and then told Mr. Welch, he behoved to go with him to the King; which he willingly did. When the Duke came to the King, the King asked him, why he brought not the minister with him? And why he did not interrupt him? The Duke answered, that never man spake like this man: but that he had brought him along with him. Upon this Mr. Welch was called. When he had entered the King's room, he kneeled, and silently prayed for wisdom and assistance. The King then challenged him, how he durst preach in that place, since it was against the laws of France that any man should preach within the verge of his court? Mr. Welch answered, "Sire, if you did right, you would come and hear me preach, and make all France hear me likewise.* For, said he, "I preach, that you must be saved by the death and merits of Jesus Christ, and not your own; and I preach, that as you are king of France, you are under the authority of no man on earth. Those men whom you hear, subject you to the Pope of Rome, which I will never do." The King replied, "Well, well, you shall be my minister." And forthwith he was favourably dismissed, and the King also left the city in peace.

A short time after, in 1621, the war was renewed, and now he told the inhabitants of the city, their cup was full, and they should no more escape. This accordingly came to pass, for the King took the town, but commanded De Vitry, the captain of his guard, to enter and preserve his minister from all danger; and horses and waggons were provided by his order, to transport Mr. Welch and his family to Rochelle, where he sojourned for a time.

His flock in France being thus scattered, he obtained liberty to return to England in the year following, and his friends entreated

* This was demanding too much. It would have been enough that the King by his example, or by his advice, had induced his subjects to hear the gospel preached. But to interpose his authority as King to *make* them do so, would have been antichristian intolerance; and it would have supposed him to have that very authority in the Church, that power over the consciences of his subjects in spiritual matters, which Welch and his brethren so justly condemned. On this branch of the subject, it must be allowed, that our Reformers were but partially enlightened.

that he might be permitted to repair to Scotland, the physicians having declared, there was no other mean to preserve his life, but the enjoyment of his native air. To this, however, King James would never accede, protesting he would be unable to establish episcopacy in Scotland, if Mr. Welch was permitted to return thither.* He continued therefore to languish at London a considerable time; his disease was regarded by some as a sort of leprosy; the physicians declared he had received poison. A distressing languor pervaded his frame, together with a great weakness in his knees, caused by his continual kneeling at prayer, in consequence of which, though he was able to move them and to walk, the flesh of them became hard and insensible almost like a horn. But when, in the time of his weakness, he was desired to remit in some degree his excessive painfulness, his answer was, he had his life from God, and therefore it should be spent in his service.

His friends importuned the King exceedingly, that if he might not return to Scotland, he might at least have liberty to preach in London, but even this he would not grant till he heard all hopes of life for him were past, then not fearing his activity.

As soon, however, as he heard he *might* preach, he greedily embraced the liberty; and having access to a lecturer's pulpit, he went and preached both long and fervently. This proved to be his last

* In reference to this cruel and cowardly refusal on the part of the King, the following interesting narrative is given by Dr. Mc'Crie. "His own sovereign," says he, "was incapable of treating him (Welch) with that generosity which he had experienced from the French monarch, and dreading the influence of a man who was far gone with a consumption, he absolutely refused to give him permission to return to Scotland. Mrs. Welch, by means of some of her mother's relations at court, obtained access to James, and petitioned him to grant this liberty to her husband. The following singular conversation took place on that occasion. His Majesty asked her who was her father. She replied 'Mr. Knox.' 'Knox and Welch,' exclaimed he, 'the Devil never made such a match as that.' 'It's right likely, Sir,' said she, 'for we never spired his advice.' He asked her how many children her father had left, and if they were lads or lasses. She said three, and they were all lasses. 'God be thanked,' cried the King, lifting up both his hands, 'for an they had been three lads, I had never bruiked my three kingdoms in peace.' She again urged her request, that he would give her husband his native air. 'Give him his native air!' replied the King, 'Give him the Devil!'—a morsel which James had often in his mouth. 'Give that to your hungry courtiers,'—said she, offended at his profaneness. He told her at last, that if she would persuade her husband to submit to the Bishops, he would allow him to return to Scotland. Mrs. Welch lifting her apron and holding it towards the King replied in the true spirit of her father, 'Please your Majesty, I'd rather kep his head there!'" See *Life of Knox*, Vol. II. pp. 273-4.

Indeed the heroism of this woman, who thus showed herself worthy of the intrepid reformer from whom she sprung, had already been displayed in a previous stage of her husband's life. During his imprisonment before trial, she attended him unremittingly, and was present at Linlithgow with the wives of the other prisoners on the eventful occasion. And when informed of the sentence, cruel and iniquitous as it was, far from giving way to useless lamentation over their fate, she, and indeed all of them, praised God, who had given their husbands courage to stand in the cause of their Master, adding, that like Him they had been judged and condemned under the covert of night.

service; for after he had ended his sermon, he returned to his chamber, and within two hours, quietly and without pain, resigned his spirit into his Maker's hands, in the 53d year of his age.

During his last sickness, he was so filled and overcome with the sensible enjoyment of God, that he was overheard to utter these words; "O Lord, hold thy hand, it is enough, thy servant is a clay vessel, and can hold no more."

Great as his diligence undoubtedly was, it may be doubted whether his labours or his successes were most abundant, for whether his spiritual experiences in seeking the Lord, or his fruitfulness in converting souls, be considered, they will be found unparalleled in Scotland. Many years after his death, Mr. David Dickson, at that time a highly esteemed minister at Irvine, was frequently heard to say, when people talked to him of his own success in the ministry, that the grape-gleanings at Ayr in Mr. Welch's time, were far above the vintage at Irvine in his own. Mr. Welch, in his preaching, was spiritual and searching, his utterance tender and moving; he did not much insist upon scholastic topics, and made no show of his learning. One of his hearers, who was afterwards minister at Muirkirk in Kyle, used to say, that no man could hear him, and forbear weeping, his speech was so affecting.

There is a large volume of his sermons yet extant, though only a few of them have been printed. He never himself published any thing, except his dispute with Abbot Brown, in which he shows that his learning was not behind his other virtues; and his *Armageddon*, or meditations upon the enemies of the church, and their destruction a piece which is rarely to be found.

ROBERT BOYD.

ROBERT BOYD of Trocarig, as he is commonly styled, was first settled as a minister at Vertal, in France, but was afterwards, by the interest of *Sieur du Plessis*, translated to the professorship of divinity at Saumur, and some time after was invited home by King James, and appointed principal of the college of Glasgow, and minister of Govan.* While he remained in France, the Popish contro-

* It appears from this and other similar appointments, that these two offices were wont at this period of the Church to be united in one and the same person. But certain it is, that in the opinion and experience of Mr. Boyd, neither of them were to be regarded as a *Sinecure*. This he evinced both by the inaugural discourse delivered at his instalment, and by his unremitted labours during his incumbency. He regularly preached as minister of Govan, and as a proof of his diligence, it is related that he wrote out all his Sermons in full, a practice by no means common in those days. In reference to his inaugural oration, which was strongly indicative of his deeply conscientious feelings, as to the discharge of his duties, the following high encomium is left upon record by Mr. Blair, an eminent

versy employed much of his thoughts; but after his return, the Church of Scotland and its interests chiefly engrossed his attention; and he became a zealous friend and supporter of the more faithful part of the ministry, against the usurpations of the bishops and the King.

The prelatists knowing that his eminence, piety, and learning, would influence many to take part with him against them, laboured with great assiduity, by entreaties, threatenings, and persuasions, through some of his friends, to bring him over to their party, inso-much that at length he gave in a paper to Law, Archbishop of Glasgow, in which he seemed in part to acknowledge the pre-eminence of bishops; but he was shortly afterwards so troubled for what he had done, that he went and sought it back, even with tears; the Archbishop, however, pretended it was already sent up to the King, so that he could not obtain it.

Mr. Boyd, finding from this time forward he could enjoy no peace in the situations he then held, demitted both, and was chosen principal of the college of Edinburgh, and one of the ministers of that city. The celebrated Dr. Cameron came into his place at Glasgow. This change took place in 1622. But Mr. Boyd was allowed to retain his newly acquired offices, for only a few months. Some of the other ministers of Edinburgh, particularly one Ramsay, envied him on account of his high reputation, both as a preacher, and as a teacher, (the well affected part of the people both in town and country crowding to his church) and gave the King information against him as a non-conformist. The King wrote to the magistrates of the town, rebuking them for admitting him, and commanding him to be removed. The magistrates were not obedient to the command, and by a courtier entreated he might be continued; but the King would not grant their request. Accordingly, on the last day of January 1623, he renewed the order to remove him; and he was, shortly after, turned out of his place and office.*

Minister at Irvine. "At the hearing of that oration," says he, "I was not a little refreshed and stirred up to my duty, with diligence and cheerfulness." On this occasion too, a question was put to him, in answer to which Mr. Boyd gave a very striking declaration of the motives which led him to undertake the offices on which he had entered. It was asked how he, a gentleman of considerable property on which he might live, at least in competence, should have thought of embracing the arduous duties of both professing Divinity (which he did as being principal,) and teaching the people by his ministry? His answer was, that considering the great wrath under which by nature he lay, and the great salvation purchased for him by Jesus Christ, he had resolved to spend himself, and be spent to the uttermost, by giving all diligence to glorify that Lord who had so loved him.

* This was a natural consequence of the supremacy, or headship of the Church, in the hands of a lawless despot, as James was, or, at least, wished to be. No minister could be faithful to God, or to his people, unless it should please the king. It is not, however, so now, even in England, where the supremacy is established; because the affairs of the Church, as well as of the state, are regulated by law. The king has the power of appointing bishops and other ministers to their offices, but he has no power of depriving them, so that he cannot in this way influence their ministry. But hence arises an evil of another kind. It is hardly possible to get

Some short time after this, Archbishop Law was prevailed on to re-admit him into his diocese as minister of Paisley; for though no man was more opposite than he to the Perth articles, having refused conformity to them both at Glasgow and Edinburgh, yet his learning and prudence strongly recommended him to the Archbishop's esteem. Here he remained in security and peace, till the Earl of Abercorn's brother, a zealous Papist, dispossessed him on a Sabbath afternoon, while he was preaching, and threw all his books out of the house where he had his residence. Upon complaining to the Privy Council, the offender was imprisoned, but the Court and baillies of Paisley, having undertaken to repossess him, and the gentleman professing his sorrow for what he had done, the Council, at Mr. Boyd's intercession, passed the matter over. When he went, however, to take possession, he found the church doors secured, so that no access could be had; and though the magistrates would have broken them open, yet the mob (urged on, as was supposed, by the Earl's mother) pressed so hard upon him, both by opprobrious speeches, and throwing stones, that he was forced to fly to Glasgow; and afterwards, seeing no prospect of a peaceable settlement in Paisley, he returned to his own house at Trochrig in Carrick, where he probably continued till his death, which was some years after.

He was a man of great learning and eloquence, for the time, as his Commentary on the Ephesians testifies. He sometimes declared that if he had his choice of languages wherein to deliver his sentiments, it would be in Greek. He was of an austere countenance and carriage, but yet very tender hearted. He had a mean opinion of himself, but a high esteem of others in whom he perceived any signs of grace and ingenuity. In the time of that convincing and converting work of the Lord, (commonly called the Stewarton sickness,) he came from his own house in Carrick, and met with many of the people; and having conversed with them, heartily blessed the Lord, for the grace that was given them.

ROBERT BRUCE.

ROBERT BRUCE was born about the year 1554. He was second son to the Laird of Airth, from whom he inherited the estate of Kinnaird;

quit of an unworthy pastor. The head of the Church has not power to separate the most useless, or even rotten member of the body. In order to the efficient exercise of his power, the head of the Church ought to be absolute. But then he ought to be an absolutely perfect being. Such is the true Head of the Church, whose laws are perfect, and of absolute authority; which make provision for every case that can arise in his Church; and which are easily applied by his servants, who understand them, as enlightened by his Spirit, and depending upon his promised presence with them.

W. M'G.



THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF CHARLES THE SECOND

and who being at that time a baron of the best quality in the kingdom, educated him with the view of his becoming a Lord of Session; and for his better accomplishment, sent him to France to study the civil law. After his return, his father enjoined him to wait upon some affairs of his that were then before the Court, as he had got a patent ensured for his being one of these Lords. But He whose thoughts are not as men's thoughts, having other designs with him, began to work mightily upon his conscience, so that he could get no rest, till he was allowed to attend the divinity lectures of Andrew Melvill at St. Andrews. To this step his mother was greatly averse, nor would she agree to it till he gave up some lands and casualties wherein he was infeft. This he most willingly did, and shaking off all impediments, fully resolved upon an employment more fitted to the turn of his mind.

He went to St. Andrews sometime before Melvill left the country, and continued there till his return. Whilst there, he wanted not some sharp conflicts in his mind, on the subject of his future destination, insomuch that upon a certain time, walking in the fields with that holy and excellent man James Melvill, he said to him, "Before I throw myself again into such torment of conscience, as I have had in resisting the call to the ministry, I would rather choose to walk through a fire of brimstone, even though it were half a mile in length." After he was accomplished for the ministry, Andrew Melvill perceiving how the Lord wrought with him, brought him over to the General Assembly in 1587, and moved the church of Edinburgh to call him to a charge in that city.

Although he was moved by some of the brethren to enter upon the ministry in place of James Lawson, yet he could not be prevailed upon to take the charge, although willing for the time, to labour in it, till urged by the joint advice of the ministry of the city, and as it were entrapped into it. For on a time when the sacrament was to be dispensed at Edinburgh, one of the ministers desired him, being to preach in the afternoon, to sit by him; and after having served two or three tables, went out of the church, as if he had been to return in a little; but instead of this, he sent notice to Mr. Bruce, who still sat over against the elements, that unless he served the rest of the tables, the work behoved to stop. Mr. Bruce not knowing but the minister had been seized of a sudden with sickness, and, the eyes of all being fixed on him, many entreating him to supply the minister's place, proceeded through the remaining services, and that with such assistance to himself, and such effect upon the people, as had never before been seen in that place.

When afterwards urged by his brethren to receive, in the ordinary way, the imposition of hands, he refused, because he already had received the material part of ordination, viz. the call of the people, and the approbation of the ministry; and besides, had already administered the sacrament of the supper, which, by a new ordination would seem to be made void. So having made trial of the work and found the blessing of God upon his labours, he accepted the

charge,* and was from that time forth, a principal actor in the affair of the Church, and a constant and strenuous maintainer of its established doctrine and discipline.

While a minister of Edinburgh he shone as a great light through all the neighbouring parts of the country; the power and efficacious energy of the Spirit accompanying the word preached by him, in a most sensible manner, so that he became a terror to evil-doers, and extorted fear and respect even from the greatest in the land. Even the King had such high thoughts of him, that in 1590, when he went to bring home his queen, he, at his departure, nominated him an extraordinary Counsellor, and expressly desired him to acquaint himself with the affairs of the country, and the proceedings of the Council, professing that he reposed more in him than in the rest of his brethren, or even in all his nobles. And in this his hopes were not disappointed. The country during his absence, was more quiet than either before or afterwards: in consequence of which, he wrote Bruce a congratulatory letter, dated February 19th, 1590, saying, "He would be obligated to him all his life, for the pains he had taken in his absence to keep his subjects in good order." Yea, such is said to have been his esteem for Mr. Bruce, that upon a certain occasion, before many witnesses, he declared, that he judged him worthy of the half of his kingdom; but in this as in others of his fair promises, he proved no slave to his word: for not many years after, he obliged this good man, for his faithfulness, to leave the kingdom.†

But still it cannot be doubted, that the respect and esteem which

* Maitland, after mentioning that Bruce "threatened to leave the town" of Edinburgh in 1589, says, the reason "may be easily guessed at," as he agreed to stay "upon the increase of his stipend to a thousand merks." "But if, instead of guessing," observes Dr. M'Crie, "that writer had made himself acquainted with facts, he would have known that Bruce at the period referred to, had not yet consented to settle in Edinburgh, and had a call to St. Andrews which he preferred; that the minister who held the first charge in the metropolis, required a stipend much greater than that of his colleague, inasmuch as the task of keeping up an extensive correspondence on the affairs of the national church, was devolved upon him; and that the independent spirit and scrupulous honour which Bruce evinced through the whole of his life, raised him above the suspicion of being actuated by such mean and mercenary motives."

"With great reluctance, and after a considerable trial," says the same eloquent and accurate writer, "he complied with the joint entreaties of his brethren and the inhabitants of the capital; the nobility respected him for his birth and connections; his eminent gifts as a preacher, gained him the affection of the common people, and those who could not love him, stood in awe of his commanding talents, and his severe and uncorruptible virtue. His station at Edinburgh and his influence with the Chancellor, who paid much deference to his opinions, enabled him to be of greater service to the Church than any other individual." *Life of Melvill. Vol. I. pp. 380—1.*

† "Calderwood has preserved three letters written from Denmark by the chancellor, and four by the King, to Bruce. His Majesty addresses him as his 'trusty and well-beloved Counsellor,' and says, that he was 'worth the quarter of his kingdom,' that he would reckon himself 'beholden to him while he lived,' for the services he had done him, and that he would 'never forget the same.'" *M'Crie's Life of Melvill. Vol. I. p. 382.*

he thus expressed towards him, were at the time perfectly sincere. Accordingly, on his return, he made choice of him to officiate at the Queen's coronation, a ceremony which was performed with great solemnity in the Chapel of Holyrood house, on Sabbath the 17th of May, 1590, in presence of the foreign ambassadors, and a great concourse of Scottish nobility. On the occasion, three Sermons were preached, one in Latin, another in French, and a third in English. And after a short interval, during which the royal party retired, Mr. Bruce proceeded to anoint the Queen, and assisted by the Chancellor and David Lindsay, placed the crown on her head.

Nor was it, indeed, till about three years after this event, in which he bore so distinguished a part, that his Majesty's opinion of our Worthy seems to have been changed. In 1593 the injudicious and unwarrantable lenity shewn by the court to the Popish Earls, men who had been detected in the most treacherous designs against their country, excited universal distrust, suspicion, and alarm. Under the influence of such feelings, the Synod of Fife which met in September of that year, by way of expressing its detestation of their crime, solemnly excommunicated these noblemen and their adherents, ordaining the sentence to be communicated to other synods, by which it was approved, and directed to be published. On this occasion his Majesty sent for Mr. Bruce, and importunately urged him, not to publish it himself, and as far as possible to prevent its being published by his brethren. With every disposition, however, to preserve harmony and to retain the good will of the King, Bruce did not dissemble his sentiments. He resolutely refused to do what was asked of him, and the conversation terminated by an insinuation on the part of James against the discipline and polity under which such measures were tolerated or sanctioned.

Some time after this, being charged by the King, in a conference which he held with the Magistrates and Ministers of Edinburgh, with having favoured certain alleged treasonable designs of the Earl of Bothwell, who then attempted to gain the good will of the Church, he evinced a similar firmness and intrepidity. Whilst his brethren in the ministry against whom the accusation was vague and general, contented themselves with simply appealing to their hearers in proof of their innocence, Bruce, against whom the charge was more specific and serious, insisted on knowing the individuals who had thus slandered him to his Majesty, and declared, that he would not again enter the pulpit until he was legally cleared of the crime imputed to him. James, after some shifting, named the Master of Gray and one Tyrie, a papist, as his informers. But on the day fixed for examining the affair, no person appeared to make good the charge; and Gray having left the Court, denied that he had given the alleged information against Bruce, and offered to fight any person, his Majesty excepted, who should affirm that he had defamed that minister.

Being a man of public spirit and heroic mind, he was always pitched upon to deal in matters of high moment: and amongst those

things, upon the 9th of November, 1596, he, together with Andrew Melvill and John Davidson, was directed by the council of the brethren, to deal with the Queen concerning her religion, and, for want of religious exercises and virtuous occupation amongst her maids, to move her to hear now and then the instructions of godly and discreet men. They went to her; but were refused admittance until another time.

About the same period, he distinguished himself by the part he took in the defence of David Black,* and by the zeal he displayed against the suspected inroads of popery. The commissioners who had been appointed to assist in conducting the case of that worthy minister, being, by an order of the court, removed from Edinburgh, the public mind in some degree agitated by this unusual stretch of prerogative, soon after experienced a new cause of alarm. On the morning of the 17th December, a day memorable in the history of the Church of Scotland, statements were circulated, that Huntly, one of the Popish Earls, had been privately at Court, and had prevailed on the King to issue an order which had just been intimated, that twenty-four of the citizens, best affected towards the ministers, and most distinguished for their zeal, should leave the town, and as some added, that his friends and retainers were at hand, waiting for orders to enter the Capital. This information, which was to a certain degree correct, was, as might be expected, a source of considerable alarm to Bruce and his brethren in the ministry. It being the day of the weekly sermon, they agreed that Balcanquhal, whose turn it was to preach, should desire the barons and burgesses present, to meet in the Little Church,† to advise with them what ought to be done. The meeting took place after sermon, and two persons from each of the estates were appointed to wait on the King, who happened at that time to be in the Tolbooth with the Lords of Session. Having obtained an audience, Bruce told his Majesty, that they were sent by the noblemen, barons and citizens, convened in the Little Church, to lay before him the dangers which threatened religion. "What dangers see you?" said the King. Bruce mentioned their apprehensions as to Huntly. "What have you to do with that?" said his Majesty. "And how durst you convene against my proclamation?" "We dare more than that," said Lord Lindsay, "and will not suffer religion to be overthrown." Upon this, the King retired to another apartment and shut the door. The deputies therefore returned, and reported that they had not been able to obtain a favourable answer to their petitions, and Bruce proposed, that deferring the consideration of their grievances for the present, they should merely pledge themselves to be constant in the profession and defence of religion. This proposal having been received with acclamation, he besought them as they regarded the credit of the cause, to be silent and quiet. As they were thus proceeding, how-

* See page 96.

† One of the churches of Edinburgh, so called.

ever, an unknown person entered exclaiming, "Fly, save yourselves ! the papists are coming to massacre you !" to which another rejoined, "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon !" "These are not our weapons," said Bruce, attempting to calm the assembly ; but the cry of "to arms ! to arms !" being raised on the street, they immediately rushed out, and being joined by a crowd already collected without, the panic spread, and for about an hour, confusion and riot prevailed throughout the city. The tumult was at length quelled by the joint exertions of the magistrates and ministers ; but the King the day after, hastily left the city and removed to Linlithgow ; from whence he issued a severe proclamation, commanding all judges and officers to repair to him, and forbidding all noblemen and Barons from assembling without his permission.*

Upon the Sabbath following, Bruce, in preaching from the 51st psalm, declared, "The removal of your ministers is at hand, our lives shall be bitterly sought after ; but ye shall see with your eyes, that God shall guard us, and be our buckler and defence," a saying which was soon in part accomplished ; for on the day following, the King sent a charge from Linlithgow against him and the other ministers of Edinburgh, to enter in ward at the castle there, within six hours, under pain of horning. Though conscious of their innocence, yet seeing that the King's anger was kindled against them, they thought proper at the advice of their friends to withdraw, and

* "Such," says Dr. McCrie, "are the facts connected with the tumult of the seventeenth of December, which has been related in so many histories, and magnified into a daring and horrid rebellion. Had it not been laid hold of by designing politicians as a handle for accomplishing their measures, it would not now have been known that such an event had ever occurred ; and were it not that it has been so much misrepresented to the disparagement of the ministers and ecclesiastical polity of Scotland, it would be a waste of time and labour to institute an inquiry into the real state of the facts. 'No tumult in the world was ever more harmless in the effects nor more innocent in the causes, if you consider all those who did openly act therein.' (Baillie's Hist. Vindication, p. 71.) It never was seriously alleged, that there was the most distant idea of touching the person of the king. Had there been any intention of laying violent hands on the unpopular statesman, there was nothing to have prevented the populace at the commencement of the tumult from forcing the house in which they were assembled. No assault was made upon the meanest creature belonging to the court ; no violence was offered to the person or the property of a single individual. So far from partaking of the nature of a rebellion, the affair scarcely deserves the name of a riot. Nor did it assume the appearance of one of those dangerous commotions by which the public peace is liable to be disturbed in large towns, and to which a wise government seldom thinks of giving importance by inquiring narrowly into their origin, or punishing those, who, through thoughtlessness or imprudence may have been led to take part in their excesses." *Life of Melvill. Vol I. p. 410.*

for a time conceal themselves from the effects of his displeasure. Bruce and Balcanquhal accordingly went into England, Watson and Balfour concealed themselves in Fife. They wrote apologies for their conduct, in which they vindicated themselves from the aspersions thrown upon them, and assigned reasons for their flight.

As soon as it was known that they had fled, they were publicly denounced rebels. Great keenness was shown to find some evidence of their accession to the tumult; and when this failed, recourse was had to fabrication. A letter, which on the day after, Bruce, at the request of the convened Barons, wrote to Lord Hamilton requesting his countenance and assistance in support of the Church's interests, was altered and vitiated in such a manner, as to make it express an approbation of the riot. Conscious, however, of the fraud, the court did not dare to make any public use of this vitiated document, but it was circulated in private, with the view of blasting the reputation of Bruce and his friends.

But all this was nothing more than the drops before the shower, or as the gathering of waters before an inundation. This, though allowed to return from his concealment, Bruce afterwards experienced to be the case; for the King having for some time laboured to get Prelacy established in Scotland, because he would not comply with his measures, and in particular refused to give praise to God in public for his Majesty's deliverance from the pretended treason in 1600, until he was made certain of the crime, not only discharged him from preaching in Edinburgh, but also obliged him to go into exile.—He embarked at Queensferry, on the 3d of November the same year, and arrived at Dieppe on the 8th of that month.*

And although, by the King's permission, he returned home the year following, yet because he would not acknowledge Gowrie's conspiracy to be treason, purge his Majesty in such places as he should appoint, and crave pardon for his long distrust and disobedience,† &c.; he could not be admitted to his place and office again,

* He embarked about midnight, and it is related, that "there appeared such a great light as served him and the company to sail." This was most probably the Aurora Borealis, which sometimes for years together do not appear, or are of very rare occurrence, and are mistaken by the ignorant for something supernatural.

W. M'G.

† These were conditions to which the unbending rectitude and solid sense by which he was characterized, would not allow him to concede. As a subject, he said he had never refused to do the duty of a subject; but to utter in the pulpit under the authority of his office, any thing of which he was not fully persuaded, he was not at liberty. "I have a body and some goods," continued he, "let his Majesty use them as God shall direct him; but as to my inward peace, I would pray his Majesty in all humility to suffer me to keep it. Place me where God placed me, and I shall teach as fruitful and wholesome doctrine to the honour of the Magistrates, as God shall give me grace. But to go through the country, and make proclamations here and there, will be counted either a beastly fear or a beastly flattery, and in so doing, I shall raise greater doubts, and do more harm than good to the cause; for people look not to words but to grounds. And as for myself, I should be but a partial and sparing blazer of my own infirmities: others will be far better heralds of my ignominy." See M'Crie's *Life of Melvill* Vol. II. p. 79.

but was commanded by the King to keep ward in his own house at Kinnaird. After the King's departure to England, he had some respite for about a year or more; but on the 29th of February, 1605, he was summoned to compare before the commission of the General Assembly, to hear and see himself removed from his function at Edinburgh. They had before, in his absence, decerned the place vacant; now they intimated the sentence, and Livingstone had a commission from the King to see it put in execution. Bruce appealed; they prohibited him to preach; but he obeyed not. In July thereafter, Chancellor Seaton advertised him of the King's express order discharging him to preach any more; but said, he would not use his authority in this, and would only request him to desist for nine or ten days; to which he consented, thinking it but of small moment for so short a time. But he quickly knew, how deep the smallest deviation from his Master's cause and interest might go into the devoted heart, for that night, as he himself afterwards declared, his body was cast into a fever, and he felt such terror of conscience, as made him resolve to obey such commands no more.

Upon the 8th of August following, he was charged to enter in ward at Inverness, within the space of ten days, under pain of horning; which order he obeyed upon the 17th following. In this place he remained for the space of four years, teaching every Wednesday and Sabbath forenoon, and reading public prayers every other night. His labours were greatly blessed. By means of his ministry, a dark country was wonderfully illuminated, many brought to Christ, and a seed sown which remained and was manifest for many years afterwards.

When he returned from Inverness to his own house, even though his son had procured a license for him, he could find nothing but trouble and vexation, from the ministers of the Presbyteries of Stirling and Linlithgow, and all for his activity in curbing the vices to which some of them were subject. At last he obtained liberty of the Council to transport his family to another house he had at Monkland; but, because of the Archbishop of Glasgow, he was again forced to retire to Kinnaird.

Thus the good man was tossed about, and obliged to go from place to place. And, in this state he continued, until by the King's order he was summoned before the Council, in September 19th, 1621, to answer for transgressing the law of his confinement, &c. When he compared, he pleaded the favour expressed towards him by his Majesty when in Denmark, and withal purged himself of the accusation laid against him: "and yet, notwithstanding all these, (said he,) the King hath exhausted both my estate and person, and has left me nothing but my life, and that apparently he is seeking! I am prepared to suffer any punishment, only I am careful not to suffer as a malefactor or evildoer." A charge was then given him to enter in ward in the castle of Edinburgh, where he continued till the 1st of January; on that day though the Bishops, his delators, chose to absent themselves, he was brought before the Council, and the King's will intimated to him, *viz.* that he should return to his own house,

until the 21st of April, and then transport himself again to Inverness, and remain within four miles thereof during the King's pleasure.

Here accordingly he remained until September 1624, when he obtained license again to return from his confinement to settle some of his domestic affairs, but the condition of his license was so strait, that he purposed with himself to return to Inverness. In the mean time, however, the King died, and so he was not urged to resume his confinement; for although King Charles I. renewed the charge against him some years after, yet he continued mostly in his own house, preaching and teaching wherever he had occasion.

About this time the parish of Larbert, having neither church nor stipend, he both repaired the church, and discharged all parts of the ministry. Many, besides the inhabitants of the parish, attended upon his preaching with much benefit; and it would appear, that about this time Mr. Henderson, then Minister of Leuchars, and afterwards so famous, was converted by his ministry.

At this place it was his custom, after the first sermon, to retire by himself some time for private prayer, and on one occasion, some noblemen who had far to ride sent the beadle to learn if there were any appearance of his coming in. The man returned, saying, "I think he will not come to day, for I overheard him say to another, 'I protest I will not go unless thou goest with me.'" However in a little time he came, accompanied by no man, but full of the blessing of Christ: for his speech was with much evidence and demonstration of the Spirit. It was easy for his hearers to perceive that he had been in the mount with God, and that indeed he had brought that God whom he had met in private, *into his Mother's house, and into the chambers of her that conceived him!*

He was also thought to have somewhat of the spirit of discerning future events, and seemed prophetically to speak of several things that afterwards came to pass. And it is moreover affirmed, that persons distracted, and those who were past recovery with the falling sickness, were brought to him, and were, after prayer by him in their behalf, fully restored from that malady.*

Some time before his death, being at Edinburgh, where through weakness he often kept his chamber, several godly ministers, who had met anent some matter of church concernment, hearing he was in town, came and gave him an account of the prelates' actings. After this, he prayed, in his prayer adverting to the facts they had stated, and thus giving a very sad representation of the case of the church; and during all the time there was such a powerful emotion felt by all present, and such a sensible down-pouring of the Spirit, what they could hardly contain themselves. Mr. Wemyss of Lathokar, being present, at departing, said, "O how strange a man is this, for he knocketh down the Spirit of God upon us all;" referring to his having divers times knocked with his fingers upon the table in the time of that prayer.

* See Fleming's Fulfilling of Scripture. Seventh edition. pp. 411—414.

About this time, he related that a strange dream occurred to him. He thought he saw a long broad book with black boards, flying in the air, with many black fowls like crows flying about it; and as it touched any of them, they fell down dead; and that he heard an audible voice speak to him, saying, *Hæc est ira Dei contra pastores ecclesiæ Scoticanæ!* upon which he fell a-weeping, and praying that he might be kept faithful, and not be one of those who were thus struck down by the torch of God's wrath, for deserting the truth. He said, when he awakened, he found his pillow drenched with tears. The accomplishment of this dream, I need not insinuate. All acquainted with our Church history know, that soon after Prelacy was introduced into Scotland, Bishops set up, and with them ushered in those Popish and Arminian tenets, those corruptions and that profanity, which continued to prevail for many years afterwards.

"One time," says Livingston in his Memoirs, "I went to Edinburgh to see him, in company with the tutor of Bonnington. When we called on him at eight o'clock in the morning, he told us he was not inclined for company; and on being urged to tell us the cause, he answered, that when he went to bed he had a good measure of the Lord's presence, but that he had wrestled about an hour or two before we came in, and had not yet got access; and so we left him. At another time, I went to his house, but saw him not till very late. When he came out of his closet, his face was foul with weeping; and he told me, that that day he had been thinking on what torture and hardships Dr. Leighton, our countryman, had been put to at London;* and added, if I had been faithful, I might have had the pillory, and some of my blood shed for Christ, as well as he, but he hath got the crown from us all." "I heard him once say," the same writer declares, "'I would desire no more at my first appeal from King James, but one hour's converse with him: I know he has a conscience, I made him once weep bitterly at Holyroodhouse.' And upon another occasion in reference to his death, he said, 'I wonder how I am kept so long here: I have lived two years already

* This was the famous Leighton, Doctor of Divinity in the two universities of St. Andrews and Leyden, who, for writing of Zion's Plea against Prelacy, was apprehended at London by two ruffians, brought before Archbishop Laud, and sentenced, besides a fine of £10,000, to be tied to a stake, and receive thirty-six stripes with a triple cord; and then to stand two hours in the pillory, (which he did in a cold winter night) and then to have his ear cut, his face fired, and his nose slit; and the same to be repeated that day se'ennight, and his other ear cut off, with the slitting of the other side of his nose, and burning his other cheek. All this was executed with the utmost rigour, and then he was sent prisoner to the Fleet, where he continued, till upon a petition to the parliament in 1610, he was released, and got for his reparation a vote of £6000, which it is said was never paid, and made warden of that prison wherein he had been so long confined: but through infirmity and bad treatment he did not long survive, being then seventy-two years of age. See this related more at length in Stevenson's History, Vol. III. p. 948.

in violence; meaning, that he was that much beyond seventy years of age.”*

For some time previous to his death, which happened in August, 1631, he was, through age and infirmity, mostly confined to his chamber. Being frequently visited by friends and acquaintances; he was on one occasion, asked how matters stood betwixt God and his soul? He made this reply, “When I was young, I was diligent, and lived by faith on the Son of God; but now I am old and not able to do so much, and yet he condescends to feed me with lumps of experience.” On the morning before he was removed, his sickness consisting chiefly in the weakness of age, he came to breakfast; and having, as usual, eaten an egg, he said to his daughters, “I think I am yet hungry, ye may bring me another egg.” But instantly thereafter, falling into deep meditation, and after having mused a little, he said, “Hold, daughter, my Master calls me!” Upon these words, his sight failed him; and calling for his Family Bible, but finding he could not see, he said, “Cast up to me the eighth chapter of the epistle to the Romans, and set my finger on these words, *I am persuaded that neither death nor life, &c. shall be able to separate me from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus my Lord.*” “Now,” said he, “is my finger upon them?” and being told it was, he said, “Now God be with you my children; I have *breakfasted* with you, and shall *sup* with my Lord Jesus Christ this night!” And so, like Abraham of old, he gave up the ghost in a good old age,† and was gathered to his people.

In this manner did this bright star set in our horizon. There were none, in his time, who preached with such manifestations of the power of the Spirit; and no man had more seals of his ministry; yea, many of his hearers thought, that no man since the days of the apostles ever spoke with such power. And although he was no Boanerges, as being of a slow but grave delivery, yet he delivered himself with such authority and weight, as became the oracles of the living God. Some of the most stout hearted of his hearers were ordinarily made to tremble, and by thus having the door, which had formerly been shut against Jesus Christ, as by an irresistible power broke open, and the secrets of their hearts made manifest, they oftentimes went away under deep convictions. In prayer he was short, especially in public, but “every word or sentence he spoke was as a bolt shot to heaven.” He spent much of his time in private prayer. He had a very notable faculty in searching the scriptures, and explaining the most obscure mysteries therein. He also had much inward exercise of conscience anent his own case, and was sometimes tempted, even anent that grand fundamental truth, the being of a God; insomuch, that it was almost customary to him to

* Livingstone's Memorable Characters. p. 74.

† By the calculation in Livingstone's account, he behoved to be only 75 years of age; but Calderwood makes him 77, and says, he had an honourable burial, being accompanied with four or five thousand people to the grave. See Hist. p. 818.

say, as he did when he first spoke in the pulpit, "I think it a great matter to believe there is a God." By such experience he was the better fitted to deal with others under the like temptations.* Having a very majestic countenance, his appearance in the pulpit was good. His delivery was solemn, impressive, and commanding; and to apply to his sermons the reverse of the figure by which as above, one of his hearers described his prayers, "every word or sentence he spoke was like a bolt shot *from* heaven."

That he was also deeply affected with the public cause and interest of Jesus Christ, and both did and suffered much on account of it, the facts already mentioned, afford abundant evidence. Perhaps no one of his age was more severely treated by the reigning party, on account of his adherence to principle and duty. It appears, indeed, as if they acted with regard to him on a settled plan of annoyance. It seems to have been determined from the first, that he should never resume his place and honours. But yet he was for years tantalized, by having the hope of doing so, frequently held out to him. Either such terms, however, were proposed, as it was known he should reject, or those to which he was about to accede, were of a sudden withdrawn. He was also unceasingly persecuted by the mean jealousy of the Bishops, who set spies on his conduct, sent informations to court against him, and procured orders to change the place of his confinement from time to time. Undoubtedly, the whole of the treatment which he received, was very disgraceful to the then government. Granting that he gave way to scrupulosity—required a degree of evidence as to the guilt of Gowrie, which he needed not towards simply announcing it, and even that there was a mixture of pride in his motives, (concessions which many will not be disposed to make) still the nice and high sense of integrity, which he uniformly displayed, his great talents, and the eminent services which he had performed to Church and state, ought to have secured to him very different treatment. But the court hated him for his fidelity, and dreaded his influence in counteracting its favourite plans. As another consideration which rendered his pardon hopeless, the King himself was conscious of having deeply and privately injured him. This appears from the following facts, which, in addition to those already detailed, cannot but be acceptable to those who feel interested in the fate of this great and good man.

Bruce, when in favour with the court in the year 1589, had obtained a gift for life, out of the lands of the Abbey of Arbroath, which he had enjoyed for a number of years. In 1598, the King privately disposed of this to Lord Hamilton. He at first stirred up the tenants of the Abbey to resist payment, and when this expedient failed he avowed the deed. Bruce signified his willingness to yield up the gift, provided the King retained it in his own hands, or applied it to the use of the Church: but learning that it was to be

* Mr. Blair says, that he told him, that for three years he durst not say, My God, and that his conscience smote him for the same.—*Blair's Memoirs*, p. 39.

bestowed on Lord Hamilton, he resolved to defend his right. His Majesty, by threats and persuasions, endeavoured to induce the Lords of Session to give a decision in his favour. They, however, found that Bruce's title was valid and complete. Upon this the King, not content with storming at the judges and his opponent's counsel, and determined to obtain his object, "wakened the process" by means of two ministers in Angus, to whom he transferred part of the annuity. And notwithstanding a private settlement of the dispute, which was sanctioned by the Lords of Session, he afterwards so set aside, and altered the minute of Court, that by it Bruce was deprived of the greater part of his annuity, and made to hold the remainder at the royal pleasure; upon which he threw up the gift in disdain.*

As a writer, Bruce may be regarded as having been, for his time, both substantial and eloquent. The forementioned apology, his Letters to M. Espagnol, the Duke of Parma, Col. Semple and others, and above all, his Five Sermons on the Sacrament, together with his Miscellaneous Sermons, entitle him to this character. But it is more especially for his services and sufferings in the cause of civil and religious liberty, that he is entitled to the respect and gratitude of posterity, even as it was by these, especially, that he earned the esteem and admiration of his contemporaries.†

JOSIAS WELCH.

THIS eminent Minister of the Gospel, was a younger son of the famous John Welch of Ayr, and Elizabeth Knox, daughter of the great Reformer. As might be expected from such parents, he received a most liberal and religious education. But what proved more especially the source of his reputation, was, that he was heir to his father's graces and virtues. Although he had received all the branches of useful learning, required for the ministry, yet Prelacy being then prevalent in Scotland, he kept back for some time from the office, not being clear in his own mind about entering into it, by the door of Episcopacy. But some time after, it so fell out, that

* See for this and the preceding paragraph, M'Crie's Life of Melvill. Vol. II. pp. 168—171.

† That he enjoyed the latter in no small degree, the following expressions of that great man Andrew Melvill, will be sufficient to evince. They are from letters written in the years 1613 and 1616. "I cannot but hope," says he, "for all that is good of Bruce. The court rumours are vain and calumnious, especially with regard to *heroes* like him, *adorned with every virtue*." And again,—“I thank you for Mr. Robert Bruce, that *constant confessor* and *almost martyr* of our Lord Jesus. The Lord keep him and his for ever, I never remember him and his without comfort and heart lift up to God.” See M'Crie's Life of Melvill. Vol. II. pp. 437, 532.

meeting with worthy Mr. Blair, (who was then a minister at Bangor in Ireland,) he was exhorted and solicited to go over with him, under the assurance that there he would find work enough, and he hoped success likewise. This accordingly was the case; for upon his going thither, he was highly honoured of the Lord, to bring the covenant of grace to the people at the Six-mile water, and having also preached sometime at Oldstone, he was afterwards settled at Temple-patrick, where, with great vigilance and diligence, he exercised his office, and by the blessing of God upon his labours gained many seals of his ministry.

But the devil, envying the success of the gospel in that quarter, stirred up the Prelatical clergy against him, and in May 1632, the Bishop of Down caused to cite him, together with Blair, Livingstone, and Dunbar, and on their comparing, urged them to conform, and give their subscription to that effect. But they answered with great boldness, that there was no law in that kingdom requiring this; yet, notwithstanding, they were all four deposed by him from the office of the holy ministry.

After this, Welch continued some time preaching in his own house, where he had a large auditory; and such was his desire to gain souls to Christ, that he commonly stood in a door looking towards a garden, that he might be heard by those without as well as within; in consequence of which, being of a weakly constitution, he contracted a cold which occasioned his death in a short time after.

He continued in this way, until May 1634, when by the intercession of Lord Castlestuart with the King in their behalf, he and his brethren received a grant from the Bishop of six months' liberty. This freedom he most gladly embraced; but he had preached only a few weeks in his own pulpit before his illness increased, so as to prevent his continuing his labours. He died very soon afterwards. The short history of his life may be summed up in the words of one who knew him well, who had been his companion in labour and in suffering, and who could well appreciate the virtues by which he was adorned. On the Sabbath afternoon before his death, which was on Monday following, "I heard," says Mr. Livingstone, "of his sickness, and came to him about eleven o'clock at night, and Mr. Blair came about two hours thereafter. He had many gracious discourses, as also some wrestling and exercise of mind. One time he cried out, 'Oh for hypocrisy!' on which Mr. Blair said, 'See how Satan is nibbling at his heels before he enter into glory.' A very little before he died, being at prayer by his bedside, and the word 'victory' coming out of my mouth, he took hold of my hand, and desiring me to forbear a little and clapping his hands, cried out, 'Victory, victory, victory for evermore; he then desired me to go on, and in a little expired.—His death happened on the 23d of June, 1634."

He died in the flower of his youth, leaving only one son behind him, viz. Mr. John Welch, afterwards minister of Irongray in Galloway.

JOHN GORDON, VISCOUNT KENMUIR.

JOHN GORDON of Lochinvar, (afterwards Viscount Kenmuir,) was born about the year 1599. He received a reasonable share of education; but through the circumstance of his birth, the corruption of the age, and above all, the depravity of nature and want of restraining grace, he became very irreligious and profane. This was in his younger years, and as might be expected, when arrived at manhood he broke out into more gross acts of wickedness. Yet all the while the Lord left him not altogether without a check or witness in his conscience; for sometimes when at ordinances, particularly sacramental occasions, he would be filled with a sense of sin borne powerfully in upon his soul, which he was scarcely able to withstand. But for long he continued a stranger to true and saving conversion. The most part of his life, after he advanced in years, he spent like the rich man in the gospel, casting down barns and building greater ones; for at his houses of Rusco and Kenmuir, he was much employed in building, parking, planting, and seeking worldly honours.

About the year 1628, he was married to the virtuous and pious Lady Jean Campbell, sister to the worthy Marquis of Argyle, by whom he had several children, one of whom it appears died about the beginning of the year 1635; since we find Rutherford, in one of his letters about that time, comforting the noble Lady upon the mournful dispensation.

In 1633, Charles I. in honour of his coronation, in the place of his birth and first parliament, dignified many of the Scots nobility and gentry with higher titles and places of office, among whom was Sir John Gordon, who, upon the 8th of May, was created Viscount Kenmuir, and Lord Gordon of Lochinvar.*

Accordingly, as Viscount, he came to the parliament which sat down at Edinburgh, June 16th, 1633, and was present the first day, but remained only a few days thereafter; for being afraid to displease the King, from whom he had already received some, and still expected more honours, and not having the courage to glorify God by his presence, when His cause was at stake, he deserted the parliament, under pretence of indisposition, and returned home to his house at Kenmuir in Galloway. There he slept securely, for about a year, without check of conscience, till August 1634, that his affairs occasioned his return to Edinburgh, where he again staid a few days, not knowing, however, that with the ending of his business, he was as it were to end his life. He returned home under some alteration of bodily health, and from that day his sickness increased until the 12th of September ensuing, when he died.

But the Lord had other thoughts than that this nobleman should

* About this time the King created one Marquis, ten Earls, two Viscounts, and eight Lords; and while he was in Scotland he dubbed fifty-four Knights on different occasions. See Crawford's Peerage.

die without some sense of his sin, or go out of this world unobserved. —And therefore it pleased him, by his bodily affliction to shake his soul with fears, thus making him sensible of the power of eternal wrath, both for his own good, and for an example to others in after ages, never to wrong their consciences, or be wanting to the cause or interest of God, when he gives them an opportunity to promote it.

Upon Sabbath the 31st of August, being much weakened, he was visited by a religious and learned minister who then lived in Galloway, not far from the house of Kenmuir. His Lordship rejoiced much at his coming, observing the goodness of providence in sending him home (having been absent from Galloway for some time) sooner than he expected. —After supper, his Lordship began a conference with the minister, showing he was much taken up with the fears of death and extremity of pain. “I never dreamt,” said he, “that death had such a terrible, austere, and gloomy countenance. I dare not die; howbeit, I know I must die.—What shall I do? for I dare not venture in grips with death, because I find my sins grievous, and so many, that I fear my account is out of order, and not so as becomes a dying man?”

The minister for some time discoursed to him, anent the weakness of nature, which is in all men, believers not excepted, which makes them afraid of death: but hoped Christ would be his second in the combat, giving him to rely upon His divine strength; but withal said, “My Lord, I fear more the ground of your fear of death, which is (as you say) the consciousness of sin, for there could be no plea betwixt you and your Lord, if your sins were taken away by Christ; and therefore make that sure, and fear not.” His Lordship answered, “I have been too late in coming to God; and have deferred the time of making my account so long, that I fear I have but the foolish virgins’ part of it, who came and knocked at the door of the bridegroom too late, and never got in.”

The minister having hinted at some both of his and his father’s sins, particularly the cares for this world and its honours, and thinking his Lordship designed to extenuate his fault, drew several weighty propositions about the fears of death and his eternal all, as depending upon his being in or out of Christ; and then exhorted him in these words: “Therefore, I entreat you, my Lord, by the mercies of God, by your appearing before Christ as your Judge, and by the salvation of your soul, that you look ere you leap, and enter not into eternity, without a certificate under the Redeemer’s hand, because it is said of the hypocrite, *He lieth down in the grave and his bones are full of the sins of his youth.*”*

Kenmuir replied, “When I begin to look upon my life I think all is wrong in it, and the lateness of my reckoning affrighteth me; therefore stay with me, and show me the marks of a child of God, for you must be my second in this combat, and wait upon me. His

lady answered, "You must have Jesus Christ to be your second;" to which he heartily said, "Amen—but," continued he, "how shall I know that I am in the state of grace, for while I would be resolved, my fears will still overburden me." The minister said, "My Lord, scarcely or ever doth a castaway anxiously and carefully ask the question, whether he be a child of God or not." But he excepted against this saying, "I do not think there is a reprobate in hell, but would with all his heart have the kingdom of heaven." The minister having explained the different desires in reprobates, his Lordship said, "You never saw any token of true grace in me: and that is my great and only fear."

The minister said, "I was indeed sorry to see you so fearfully carried away with temptation, and you know, I gave you faithful warning, that it would come to this. I wish your soul was deeply humbled for sin; but in reference to your question I thought you ever had a love to the saints, even to the poorest, who carried Christ's image, although they could never serve nor profit you in any way. Now, *"By this we know we are translated from death unto life, because we love the brethren."** At last, with this mark, after some objections, he seemed convinced. The minister then asked him, "My Lord, dare you now quit your part in Christ, and subscribe an absolute resignation of him?" To this he replied, "O Sir, that is too hard, I hope he and I have more to do together, and I will be advised ere I do that." He then asked, "What mark is it to have judgment to discern a minister called and sent of God from an hireling?" The minister allowed it to be a good mark, and cited the declaration of Christ: *My sheep know my voice.*†

At the second conference, the minister urged deep humiliation. Kennuir acknowledged the necessity thereof; but said, "Oh! if I could get him! But sin causeth me to be jealous of his love to such a man as I have been." The minister advised him "to be jealous of himself, but not of Jesus Christ, there being no meeting betwixt them without a sense of sin."‡ Whereupon his Lordship said, with a deep sigh accompanied with tears, "God send me that;" and thereafter reckoned out a certain number of his sins, which were as serpents or crocodiles before his eyes. The minister said, that death and he were yet strangers, and hoped, he would tell another tale ere the play were ended, "and that you shall think death a sweet messenger to carry you to your father's house." He said with tears, "God make it so;" and desired him to pray.

At the third conference, he said, "Death bindeth me strait. O how sweet a thing it is to seek God in health, and in time of prosperity to make our accounts, for now I am so distempered, that I cannot get my heart framed to think on my reckoning, and the life to come." The minister told him, "He beloveth to fight against sickness, and pain, as well as sin and death, seeing it is a temptation."—He answered, "I have taken the play long, God hath given me

* 1 John iii. 14.

† John x. 4.

‡ Isaiah lxi. 2, 3.

thirty-five years to repent; but, alas! I have mispent them!" and with that he covered his face and wept. The minister assured him, that although his day was far spent, yet he behoved in the afternoon, yea, when near evening, to run fast and not to lie in the field, and miss his lodging; upon which he, with uplifted eyes, said, "Lord, how can I run? Lord, draw me, and I shall run."* The minister hearing this, desired him to pray, but he answered nothing; yet, within an hour after, he prayed before him and his own Lady, very devoutly, and bemoaned his own weakness, both inward and outward, saying, "I dare not knock at thy door, I lie at it scrambling as I may, till thou dost come out and take me in; I dare not speak; I look up to thee, and look for one kiss of Christ's fair face. O when wilt thou come!"

At the fourth conference, he charged the minister to go to a secret place and pray for him, and do it not for the fashion: "I know," said he, "prayer will pull Christ out of heaven." The minister said, "What shall we seek, give us a commission?" He answered, "I charge you to tell my beloved, *that I am sick of love.*" The minister desired if they should seek life or recovery for him, he said, "Yea, if it be God's good pleasure, for I find my fear of death now less, and I think God is now loosening the root of the deep-grown tree of my soul, so firmly fastened to this life." The minister told him, if it were so, he behoved to covenant with God, in dedicating himself and all he had to God and his service; to which he heartily consented; and after the minister had recited several scriptures for that purpose, such as Psal. lxxviii. 36, &c; he took the Bible, and said, "mark other scriptures for me," and he marked 2 Cor. v. Rev. xxi, and xxii. Psal. xxxviii. John xv. These places he turned over, and cried often for a saving view of Christ. "O Son of God, for one sight of thy face!"

When the minister told him his prayers were heard, he took hold of his hand, and drew him to him, and said with a sigh, "Good news indeed!" and desired him and others to tell him what access they had got to God in Christ for his soul.—They told him, they had got access; at which he rejoiced, and said, "Then will I believe and wait on, I cannot think but my beloved is coming leaping over the mountains."

When friends or others whom he knew feared God, came to visit him, he would cause them go and pray for him, and sent some of them expressly to the wood of Kenmuir on that errand. After some alleviation of the fever, (as was thought) he caused one of his attendants to call the minister, to whom he said, smiling, "Rejoice now, for he is come. O! if I had a tongue to tell the world, what Jesus Christ hath done for my soul."

And yet, after all this, conceiving hopes of recovery, he became for some days, careless, remiss, and dead; and seldom called for the minister, though he would not suffer him to go home to his

flock. This his lady and others perceiving, went to the physician, and asked his judgment anent him. He plainly told them, there was nothing but death for him if his flux returned, as it did. This made the minister go to him, and gave him faithful warning of his approaching danger, telling him his glass was shorter than he was aware of, and that Satan would be glad to steal his soul out of the world sleeping. This being seconded by the physician, he took the minister by the hand, thanked him for his faithful and plain dealing, and acknowledged the folly of his deceiving heart, in looking over his affection to this life, when he was so fairly once on his journey toward heaven. He then ordered them all to leave the chamber except the minister, and causing him to shut the door, conferred with him anent the state of his soul.

After prayer, the minister told him, he feared that his former joy had not been well grounded, nor his humiliation deep enough; and therefore desired him to dig deeper, representing his offences both against the first and second table of the law: whereupon his Lordship reckoned out a number of great sins, and, amongst the rest, his deserting the last parliament, saying, "God knoweth I did it with fearful wrestling of conscience, my light paying me home within, when I seemed to be glad and joyful before men." The minister being struck with astonishment at this reckoning, after such fair appearances of grace in his soul, stood up and read the first eight verses in the sixth chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews, and discoursed thereon; then cited these awful words of the Faithful and true witness, *But the fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone; which is the second death.** and then told him he had not one word of mercy from the Lord to him, and so turned away from him. At this he cried out bitterly and with many tears, so that they heard him at some distance, saying, "God armed with justice is coming against me; I would die; I dare not die: I would live; I dare not live: O what a burden is the hand of an angry God? Oh! what shall I do? Is there no hope of mercy?" In this agony he lay for some time. Some exclaimed against the minister that he would kill him,—others, that he would drive him to despair. But he bore with them, retired to a secret place, and sought words from God to speak to him still farther.

After this another minister came to visit him, to whom he said, "He hath slain me;" but before the minister could answer for himself, added, "Not he, but the Spirit of God in him." The minister said, "Not I, but the law hath slain you:" telling him withal, that the Lord had a process against the house of Kenmuir. The other minister read the history of Manasseh, his wicked life, and how the Lord was entreated of him. But the former minister† still spoke

* Rev. xxi. 8.

† This minister is supposed to have been Mr. Rutherford, who was said by some, to be the author of the pamphlet, entitled, "The Last and Heavenly Speech, &c. of John Viscount of Kenmuir."

of wrath, saying, he knew he was extremely pained both in body and mind, but what would he think of the lake of fire and brimstone, of everlasting burning, and of utter darkness, with the devil and his angels! His Lordship answered, "Woe is me! if I should suffer my thoughts to dwell upon it, it were enough to cause me to go out of my senses; but I pray you, what shall I do?" The minister told him he was even now in the same situation, only the sentence was not given out, and therefore, desired him to mourn for offending God: and said farther, "What, my Lord, if Christ had given out the sentence of condemnation against you, and come to your bedside and told you of it, would you not still love him, trust in him and hang upon him?" He answered, "God knoweth, I durst not challenge him: although he should slay me, I would still love him; yea, though the Lord should slay me, yet will I trust in him: I will lie down at God's feet, let him trample upon me; if I die, I will die at Christ's feet." The minister finding him claiming kindness to Christ, and hearing him often cry, "O Son of God where art thou, when wilt thou come to me; Oh! for a love-look!" said, "Is it possible, my Lord, that you can love and long for Christ, and he not love and long for you? Can love and kindness stand only on your side? Is your poor love more than infinite love, seeing he hath said, *Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? yea, they may forget, yet will I not forget thee.** My Lord, be persuaded, you are graven upon the palms of his hands." Upon this, he, with a hearty smile, looked about to a gentleman, (one of his attendants) and said, "I am written, man, upon the palms of Christ's hands, he will not forget me; is not this brave talking?"

Afterwards, the minister finding him weaker, said, "My Lord, the marriage day is drawing near; make ready; set aside all care of your estate and the world, and give yourself to meditation, and prayer, and spiritual conference." After that, he was observed to be still in exercise; and when none were near him, he was found praying; yea, when to appearance, sleeping, he was overheard to be engaged in that duty. After some sleep, he called for one of his kinsmen, with whom he was not as yet reconciled, and also for a minister, who had before offended him, that they might be friends again; which was done quickly. To the minister he said, "I have ground of offence against you, as a natural man, and now I do to you that which all men breathing could not have moved me to do; but now, because the Holy Spirit commands me, I must obey, and therefore freely forgive you, as I would wish you to forgive me.—You are in an eminent station, walk before God and be faithful to your calling; take heed to your steps; walk in the right road; hold your eye right: for all the world, decline not from holiness; and take example by me." To his kinsman he said, "Serve the Lord, and follow not the footsteps of your father-in-law," for he had

married the Bishop of Galloway's daughter; "learn to know that you have a soul, for I say unto you, not the thousandth part of the world know that they have a soul! The world liveth without any sense of God."

He desired the minister to sleep in a bed made in a chamber by him, and urged him to take sleep, saying, "You and I have a far journey to go: make ready for it." Four nights before his death, he would drink a cup of wine to the minister, who said, "Receive it, my Lord, in the hope that you shall drink of the pure river of the water of life, proceeding from the throne of God and of the Lamb." And when the cup was in his hand, with a smiling countenance, he said, "I think I have good cause to drink with a good will to you." After some heaviness, the minister said, "My Lord, I have good news to tell you. Be not afraid of death and judgment, because the process that your Judge had against you is cancelled and rent in pieces, and Christ hath trampled it under his feet." To this he answered with a smile, "Oh! that is good news, I will then believe and rejoice, for sure I am, that Christ and I once met, and will he not come again?" The minister said, "You have gotten the first fruit of the Spirit, the earnest thereof, and Christ will not lose his earnest; therefore the bargain betwixt him and you holdeth." Then he asked, "What is Christ like, that I may know him?" The minister answered, "He is like love, the chief among ten thousand, and altogether lovely."*

The minister said, "My Lord, if you had the man Christ in your arms, would your heart, your breast, and sides be pained?" He answered, "God knoweth I would forget my pain, and thrust him to my heart; yea, If I had my heart in the palms of my hand, I would give it to him, and think it a gift unworthy of him." He complained of Jesus Christ in coming and going—"I find," said he, "my soul drowned in heaviness; when the Lord cometh, he stayeth not long."—The minister said, "Wooers dwell not together, but married folk take up house and sunder not; Jesus Christ is now wooing, and therefore he feedeth his own with hunger; which is as growing meat as even the sense of his presence." He said often, "Son of God, when wilt thou come? God is not a man, that he should change: or as the son of man, that he should repent. Them that come to Christ, he casteth not away, but raiseth them up at the last day." He was heard to say in his sleep, "My beloved is mine, and I am his." Being asked, if he had been sleeping? he said, he had; but he remembered he had been making a claim to Christ. He asked, "When will my heart be loosed, and my tongue untied, that I may express the sweetness of the love of God to my soul;" and before the minister answered any thing, he answered, "Even when the wind bloweth."

At another time, being asked his judgment anent the ceremonies then used in the Church, he answered, "I think, and am persuaded

in my conscience, they are superstitious, idolatrous, antichristian, and come from hell. I repute it a mercy that my eyes shall not see the desolation that shall come upon this poor Church. It is plain Popery that is coming among you. God help you, God forgive the nobility, for they are either cold in defending the true religion, or ready to welcome Popery ; whereas they should resist : and woe be to a dead time-serving and profane ministry !"

He called his lady, and a gentleman who had come to visit him, and caused the door to be shut, and then from his bed directed his speech to the gentleman thus : " I ever found you faithful and kind to me in my life ; therefore I must now give you a charge, which you shall deliver to all noblemen you are acquainted with ; go through them, and show them from me, that I have found the weight of the wrath of God for not giving testimony for the Lord, when I had occasion once in my life at the last parliament. For this fault how fierce have I found the wrath of the Lord ! My soul hath raged and roared ; I have been grieved at the remembrance of it. Tell them that they will be as I am now : encourage my friends that stood for the Lord ; tell them that failed, if they would wish to have mercy when they are as I am now, they must repent, and crave mercy of the Lord. For all the earth I would not do as I have done.*

* In the above passage we have an instance of the workings of conscience, such as is never incident to the experience of the worldling. He indeed can readily conceive that for great crimes like murder, adultery, perjury or injustice, there may be felt a degree of remorse such as is here expressed. But that such a trifling circumstance, (for so he may be apt to term it) as *that* here alluded to, should cause such extreme mental anguish to the dying viscount, will seem to him quite incredible, on any principle but that of insanity. In the estimation of such an individual, the crime of being absent from parliament when his duty to the cause of God and truth required him to be present, will appear but trivial. He will be apt to wonder indeed that it should even be remembered, or if remembered at all, that it should create a single uneasy feeling in any mind whatever. He is a stranger, however, to the movements of an awakened conscience ; especially when these are connected with the immediate prospect of death. In such circumstances, and under such experience, the neglect of God's glory, the preference of interest to duty, and of the favour of an earthly sovereign to that of Him whose favour is better than life, will indeed be felt to be a sin of no trifling amount. It will appear to the conscience to be full of iniquity, as implying a tacit rejection of God's authority, and an open dereliction of his cause in the world. And when it is thus apprehended, in the near prospect of being sisted at his tribunal, it will not fail to dictate expressions equally strong as those, which, in the above passage are ascribed to Kenmuir. Nay, what is more, it will lead him who is the subject of such experience, to a similar anxiety, in warning others against the sins of which he has been guilty, and in employing every means which is still left him, even in the immediate view of death, to counteract their influence and to avert their consequences. Indeed, it is only when this is the case, that a man's repentance can be deemed sincere. For to feel *genuine* sorrow on account of conduct which yet we do not attempt to relinquish and to remedy, as well as to guard others against it, seems quite incompatible with the structure of the human mind.

To one of his kinsmen, he said, "I love you, soul and body; you are a blessed man if you improve the blessed means of the word preached to you. I would not have you drown yourself so much in the concerns of this world, as I did. My grief is, that I had not the opportunity of good means, as you have; and if you make not a right use of them, one day they shall be a witness against you."

To the Lord Herries, his brother-in-law, he said, "Mock not at my counsel, my Lord. In case you follow the course you are in, you shall never see the face of Jesus Christ; you are deceived with the merchandise of the whore, that makes the world drunk out of the cup of her fornication; your soul is built upon a sandy foundation. When you come to my state, you will find no comfort in your religion. You know not what wrestling I have had, before I came to this state of comfort. The kingdom of heaven is not gotten with a skip or leap, but with much seeking and thrusting."

To his sister, he said, "Who knows, but the words of a dying brother may prevail with a loving sister! Alas! you incline to a rotten religion; cast away these rotten rags, they will not avail you, when you are brought to this case, as I am. The half of the world are ignorant, and go to hell, and know not that they have a soul. Read the Scriptures, they are plain easy language to all who desire wisdom from God, and to be led to heaven."

To a gentleman, his neighbour, he said, "Your soul is in a dangerous case, but you see it not. Leave these sinful courses. There are small means of instruction to be had, seeing the most part of the ministry are profane and ignorant. But search God's word for the good old way, search and find out all your own ways."

To a gentleman, his cousin, he said, "You are a young man, and know not well what you are doing. Seek God's direction for wisdom in your affairs, and you shall prosper; and learn to know, that you have need of God to be your friend."

To another cousin, he said, "David, you are an aged man, and you know not well what an account you have to make. I know you better than you believe, for you worship God according to men's devices; you believe lies of God; your soul is in a dreadful case; and till you know the truth, you shall never see your own way aright."

To a young man, his neighbour, "Because you are but young, beware of temptation and snares; above all, be careful to keep yourself in the use of means; resort to good company, and howbeit you be named a Puritan, and mocked, care not for that, but rejoice, and be glad that such admit you to their society; for I must tell you, when I am at this point in which you see me, I get no other comfort to my soul from any other second means under heaven, but from those who are nick-named Puritans. They are the men that can give a word of comfort to a wearied soul in due season; and that I have found by experience."

To one of his natural sisters, "My dove, thou art young, and alas, ignorant of God. I know thy breeding and upbringing well

enough ; seek the Spirit of regeneration, Oh ! if thou knewest it, and didst feel the power of the Spirit as I do now ! Think not all is gone because your brother is dead. Trust in God, and beware of the follies of youth. Give yourself to reading and praying, and be careful in hearing God's word, and take heed whom you hear, and how you hear, and God be with you."

To a minister, he said, " Mr. James, it is not holiness enough to be a minister, for you ministers have your own faults, and those more heinous than others. I pray you, be more painful in your calling, and take good heed to the flock of God ; know that every soul that perisheth by your negligence, shall be counted, to your soul, murdered before God. Take heed, in these dangerous days, how you lead the people of God : take heed to your ministry."

To Mr. George Gillespie, then his chaplain, " You have carried yourself discreetly towards me, so that I cannot blame you. I hope you shall prove an honest man ; If I have been at any time harsh to you, forgive me. I would I had taken better heed to many of your words, I might have gotten good by the means God gave me, but I made no use of them. I am grieved for my ingratitude against my loving Lord, and that I should have sinned against him who came down from heaven to earth, to die for my sins ; the sense of this love borne in upon my heart, hath a reflex effect, making me love my Saviour, and grip to him again."

To another of his kinsmen, he said, " Learn to use your time well. Oh, alas ! the ministers in this country are dead. God help you, ye are not led right, ye had need to be busy among yourselves. Men are as careless in the practice of godliness as it were but words, fashions, signs, and shows ; but all these will not do the turn. Oh ! but I find it hard now to thrust in and take the kingdom of heaven by force."

To two neighbouring gentlemen, he said, " It is not rising soon in the morning, and running to the park or stone dyke that will bring peace to the conscience, when it comes to this part of the play. You know how I have been beguiled with this world, I would counsel you to seek that ' one thing needful,' even the salvation of your souls."

To a cousin, a baillie of Ayr, he said, " Robert, I know you have light and understanding : and though you need not be instructed by me, yet you need to be incited. Care not overmuch for the world, but make use of good means which you have in your country, for here is a pack of dumb dogs that cannot bark ; they tell over a clash of terror, and clatter of comfort, without any sense or life."

To a cousin and another gentleman who was along with him, he said, " Ye are young men, and have far to go, and yet it may be, some of you have not far to go, but though your journey be short, it is very dangerous. Now are you happy, because you have time to lay your accounts with Jesus Christ. I entreat you to give your youth to Christ, for it is the best and most acceptable gift you can give him. Give not your youth to the devil and your lusts, and then reserve nothing to Jesus Christ but your rotten bones : it is to

be feared that then he will not accept you. Learn, therefore, to watch, and take example by me."

He called Mr. Lamb, who was then Bishop of Galloway, and commanding all others to leave the room, he had a long conference with him, exhorting him earnestly not to molest or remove the Lord's servants, or enthrall their consciences to receive the five articles of Perth, or do any thing against their consciences, as he would wish to have mercy from God. The Bishop answered, "My Lord, our ceremonies are, of their own nature, but things indifferent, and we impose them for decency and order in God's Kirk. They need not stand so scrupulously on them as matters of conscience in God's worship." My Lord replied, "I will not dispute with you, but one thing I know, and can tell you from dear experience, that these things, indeed, ARE matters of conscience, and not indifferent; and so I have found them. For since I lay on this bed, the sin that lay heaviest on my soul, was, withdrawing myself from the parliament, and not giving my voice for the truth, against these things which you call indifferent; and in so doing, I have denied the Lord my God."—When the Bishop began to commend him for his well-led life, putting him in hopes of health, and praised him for his civil carriage and behaviour, saying, he was no oppressor, and without any known vice, he answered, "No matter; a man may be a good civil neighbour, and yet go to hell."—The Bishop answered, "My Lord, I confess we have all our faults;" and thereafter, he insisted so long, that my Lord thought it impertinent. This made him interrupt the Bishop saying, "What should I more, I have got a grip of Jesus Christ, and Christ of me." On the morrow, the Bishop came to visit him; and upon asking how he did, he answered, "I thank God, as well as a saved man hastening to heaven can be."

After he had given the clerk of Kirkeudbright some suitable advice, anent his Christian walk and particular calling, he caused him swear, in the most solemn terms, that he should never consent, but oppose the election of a corrupt minister or magistrate. To his coachman, he said, "You will be apt to go to any one who will give you the most hire; but do not so; go where you can get the best company; though you get less wages, yet you will get the more grace." He then made him hold up his hand, and promise before God so to do.—And to two young serving-men, who came to him weeping to get his last blessing, he said, "Content not yourselves with a superficial view of religion, blessing yourselves in the morning, only for a fashion; yea, though you would pray both morning and evening, yet that will not avail you, except likewise ye make your account every day. Oh! ye will find few to direct or counsel you; but I will tell you what to do, first pray to the Lord fervently, to enlighten the eyes of your mind, then seek grace to rule your affections; you will find the good of this when you come to my situation." Then he took both their oaths to do so.

He gave many powerful exhortations to several persons, and caused each man to hold up his hand, and swear in his presence,

that by God's grace he should forbear his former sins, and follow his advice.

When giving a divine counsel to a friend, he rested in the midst of it, and, looking up to heaven, prayed for a loosened heart and tongue to express the goodness of God to men; and thereafter went on in his counsel, not unlike Jacob, who in the midst of his dying prophetic address, rested a little and said, *I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord.**

He gave to his lady, divers times, an honourable and ample testimony of her holiness, goodness, and respectful kindness to him, earnestly craved her forgiveness wherein he had offended her, desired her to make the Lord her comforter, and said, that he was gone before; and it would be only fifteen or sixteen years, less or more, till she should follow after.†

He spoke to all the boys of the house, the butler, cook, &c. omitting none; saying, "Learn to serve and fear the Lord, and use carefully the means of your salvation. I know what is ordinarily your religion; Ye go to kirk, and when ye hear the devil or hell named in the preaching, ye sigh and make a noise, and it is forgot by you before you come home, and then ye think ye are holy enough. But I can tell you, the kingdom of heaven is not got so easily. Use the means yourself, and win to some sense of God, and pray as you can, morning and evening. If you be ignorant of the way to salvation, God forgive you, for I have discharged myself in that point towards you, and appointed a man to teach you; your blood be upon yourselves. He took an oath of his servants, that they should follow his advice, and said to them severally, "If I have been rough to, or offended you, I pray you for God's sake to forgive me." And amongst others, one to whom he had been rough, said, "Your Lordship never did me wrong, I will never get such a master again." Yet he urged the boy to say, "My Lord, I forgive you;" however the boy was with difficulty brought to utter these words. He said to all the beholders about him, Sirs, behold how low the Lord hath brought me."

To a gentleman burdened in his estate, he said, "Sir, I counsel you to cast your burden upon the Lord your God."—A religious gentleman of his own name coming to visit him four days before his death, when he beheld him, he said, "Robert, come to me, and leave me not till I die." Being much comforted with his speeches, he said, "Robert, you are a friend to me both in soul and body."—The gentleman asked him, "What comfort he had in his love towards the saints?"—He answered, "I rejoice at it." Then he asked him, "What comfort he had in bringing the minister who attended him from Galloway?" He answered, "God knoweth that I rejoice that ever he put it in my heart so to do; and now, because I aimed at

* Gen. xlix. 13.

† It would appear from the date of the last of Mr. Rutherford's letters to this noble lady, that she lived till or a little after the Restoration.

God's glory in it, the Lord hath made me find comfort to my soul in the end : the ministers of Galloway murdered my father's soul ; and if this man had not come, they had murdered mine also."

Before his sister, Lady Herries, who was a Papist, he testified his willingness to leave the world : "that Papists may see," said he, "that those who die in this religion, both see and know whither they go in the hope of their Father's house." When letters were brought him from friends, he caused deliver them to his Lady, saying, "I have nothing to do with them ; I had rather hear of news from heaven concerning my eternal salvation." It was observed that when any came to him anent worldly business, before they were out of doors, he was returned to his spiritual exercises, and was exceedingly short in despatching all needful writs. He recommended the poor's case to his friends. Upon coming out of a fainting fit, into which he had fallen through weakness, he said, with a smiling countenance, to all around him, "I would not exchange my life with any of you all ; I seem to feel the savour of the place whither I am going."

Upon Friday morning, the day of his departure from this life, he said, "This night I must sup with Jesus Christ in paradise." The minister read to him the fifth chapter of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, and the twenty-second of the Book of Revelation, and made some observations on such passages as concerned his state. And after prayer he said, "I conceive good hopes that God looketh upon me, when he granteth such liberty to pray for me. Is it possible that Jesus Christ can lose his grip of me ? or that my soul can be plucked from Jesus Christ ?" He earnestly desired a sense of God's presence ; and the minister said, "What, my Lord, if that he suspended till you come to your own home, and be before the throne, clothed in white, and get your harp in your hand, to sing salvation to the Lamb, and to him that sitteth on the throne, for that is heaven : and who dare promise it you upon earth ? There is a piece of nature in desiring a sense of God's love, it being an apple that the Lord's children delight to play with. But my Lord, if you would have it only as a pledge of your salvation, we shall seek it from the Lord for you, and you may lawfully pray for it."—Earnest prayers were made for him, and he testified that he was filled with the sense of the Lord's love. Being asked, what he thought of the world ? he answered, "It is more bitter than gall or wormwood." And being asked if he now feared death, he answered, "I have tasted death ; now it is more welcome, it is the messenger of Jesus Christ."

The minister said, "There is a process betwixt the Lord and your father's house, but your name is taken out of it. How dearly was heaven bought for you by Jesus Christ !" He frequently said, "I know there is wrath against it, but I shall get my soul for a prey." Ofttimes he said, "It is a sweet expression of God, *As I live, I delight not in the death of a sinner*. I will not let go the hold I have got of Jesus Christ ; *though he should slay me, yet will I trust in him*."

In deep meditation on his change, he put this question, "What will Christ be like when he cometh?" It was answered, "Altogether lovely." Before he died, he was heard praying very fervently, and said to the doctor, "I thought to have been dissolved ere now." The minister said, "Weary not of the Lord's yoke, Jesus Christ is posting fast to be at you, he is within a few miles." He answered, "This is my infirmity. I will wait on, he is worth the on-waiting; though he be long in coming, yet I dare say he is coming, leaping over the mountains, and skipping over the hills." The minister said, "Some have gotten their fill of Christ in this life, howbeit he is often under a mask to his own. Even his best saints, Job, David, Jeremiah, &c. were under desertions." My Lord said, "But what are these examples to me? I am not in holiness near to them." The minister said, "It is true you cannot take so wide steps as they did, but you are in the same way with them. A young child followeth his father at the back, though he cannot take such wide steps as he. My Lord, your hunger overcometh your faith, only but believe his word, you are longing for Christ, only believe he is faithful, and he will come quickly." To which he answered, "I think it is time—Lord Jesus, come quickly."

Then the minister said, "My Lord, our nature is anxious for its own deliverance; whereas God seeketh first to be glorified in our faith, patience, and hope." He answered, "Good reason that he be first served. Lord give me to wait on; only, Lord, turn me not to dross."

Another said, "Cast back your eyes, my Lord, on what you have received, and be thankful."—At the hearing of which, he brake forth in praising God; and finding himself now weak, and his speech failing more than an hour before his death, he desired the minister to pray. After prayer, the minister cried in his ear, "My Lord, may you now sunder with Christ?" To which he answered nothing, nor was it expected he would speak any more:—Yet in a little the minister asked, "Have you any sense of the Lord's love?"—He answered, "I have," The minister said, "Do you now enjoy?" He answered, "I do enjoy." Thereafter he asked him, "Will ye not sunder with Christ?"—He answered, "by no means." This was his last word, not being able to speak any more.—The minister asked if he should pray; and he turned his eyes towards him. In the time of the last prayer he was observed joyfully smiling and looking upward. He departed this life about sun-setting, September 12th, 1634, aged thirty-five years. It was observed that he died at the same instant at which the minister concluded his prayer.

Mr. Rutherford, in one of his letters to the Viscountess, a little after his death, among other things, lets fall this expression, "In this late visitation, that hath befallen your Ladyship, ye have seen God's love and care in such a measure, that I thought our Lord brake the sharp point of the cross, and made us and your Ladyship see Christ take possession and infetment upon earth, of him who is

now reigning and triumphant with the hundred and forty and four thousand who stand with the Lamb on Mount Zion."

Some may object, What did this nobleman for the cause of Christ, or Scotland's covenanted work of reformation, that he should be inserted among the Scots Worthies? To this it may be answered; What did the most eminent saint that ever was in Scotland, or any where else, until they were enabled by the grace of God? So it was with reference to him; for no sooner was he made partaker of this, than he gave a most ample and faithful testimony in favour of His truths and interest, and although the Lord did not see it proper that he should serve him after this manner, in his day and generation, yet he no doubt accepted the will for the deed; and why should we not enrol his name among these Worthies on earth, seeing God hath written his name among the living in the New Jerusalem!



ROBERT CUNNINGHAM.

AFTER having received a good education, Mr. Cunningham became chaplain to the Duke of Buccleugh's regiment, then in Holland, and was afterwards settled minister at Holyrood, in Ireland, some time previous to Mr. Blair's being settled at Bangor, with whom, after his settlement in that place, he contracted an acquaintance which proved useful and comfortable to them both.

He applied himself closely to the work of the ministry, to him no doubt, the most desirable of all employments. In the pulpit, he felt as it were in his own element, like a fish in the water, or a bird in the air, always judging that there a Christian might enjoy much fellowship with Christ, and have a good opportunity of doing him the best of services, and considering what Christ said to Peter, *Feed my lambs—feed my sheep.**

At Holyrood he continued to exercise his office as a faithful pastor over the flock to whom he was appointed overseer, until the time that several of his brethren were deposed and ejected by the bishops. At this time the bishop of Down threatened Mr. Blair with a prosecution, against Mr. Cunningham, himself, and some others; to whom Mr. Blair said, "Ye may do with me and the others as you please; but if ever ye meddle with Mr. Cunningham, your cup will be full." It so happened accordingly, that he was longer spared than any of the rest; which was a great benefit to their flocks, for when they were deposed, he preached every week in one or other of their kirks. But with such great labours both

* John xxi. 15.

at home and abroad, he wore out his body, which before was but delicate.

When Messrs. Blair and Livingstone were summoned before the Bishop to be deposed, they went the night before their appearance to take leave of Mr. Cunningham; but the next day as they were going to the church of Parphilips, he came up to them; at which being surprised, they asked why he came thither? To this he answered, "All night I have been troubled with that passage, *at my first answer no man stood with me*: therefore I am come to stand by you." But being the eye-sore of the devil, and the Prelatical clergy in that part of the country, he could not be suffered long to exercise his ministry; and in August 1636, he, with others of his faithful brethren, was thrust out of his charge. He remained for the most part after this with the rest of his suffering brethren, until after the defeat of their enterprise in going to New England, they were obliged to leave Ireland, and come to Scotland; and not long after, being in Irvine, he took his last sickness, whereof he soon died.

During his sickness, besides many other gracious expressions, he said, "I see Christ standing over Death's head, saying, 'Deal warily with my servant, loose thou this pin, then that pin, for his tabernacle must be set up again.'"

The day before his death, the members of the presbytery of Irvine paid him a visit, when he exhorted them to be faithful to Christ and his cause, and to oppose the service book which was then pressed upon the Church. "The Bishop," said he, "hath taken my ministry from me, and I may say my life also, for my ministry is dearer to me than my life." A little before his departure, his wife sitting by his bed side, with his hand in hers, he by prayer recommended the whole Church of Ireland, the parish of Holyrood, his suffering brethren in the ministry, and his children, to God; and withal added, "Lord, I recommend this gentlewoman to thee, who is no more my wife;"—and with that he softly loosed his hand from hers, and thrust it a little from him. Upon this, she and several of the company fell a-weeping; and he endeavoured to comfort them with several gracious expressions, and, with the Lord's servant of old,* *having served his own generation, by the will of God he fell on sleep*, March 27th, 1637.

He was a man who was much under deep exercises of mind: and although in public preaching, he was sometimes in his own experience not so assisted as usual, yet even then the matter he treated of was edifying and refreshing, he being still carried through with a full gale, and using more piercing expressions than many others. For meekness, he was another Moses, and in patience another Job;—"To my discerning," says one of our Worthies,† "he was the man who most resembled the meekness of Jesus Christ, in all his carriage, that ever I saw; and was so far revered of all, even by the wicked,

* See Acts xiii. 36.

† Mr. Livingstone in his *Memorable Characteristics*.

that he was often troubled with that scripture, *Wo to you when all men shall speak well of you.*"

JAMES MITCHELL.

THIS excellent young man was son to James Mitchell of Dykes, in the parish of Ardrossan, and was born about the year 1621. His father, being factor to the Earl of Eglinton, and a very religious man, gave his son a most liberal and religious education. And being sent to the university of St Andrew's when very young, he improved to such a degree, that by the time that he was eighteen years of age, he was made Master of Arts. After this he returned home to his father's house, where he studied for nearly two years and a half, the Lord greatly blessing his diligence and endeavours. He was also somewhat indebted to Robert Baillie, then minister at Kilwinning, who shewed him no small kindness, by the loan of books, by giving him his counsel, and by superintending his studies.

Thereafter, he was required by Lady Houston, to attend her eldest son at college, and in this employment he continued other two years and a half; during which the Lord blessed his studies still more exceedingly, and the great pains taken with him by Mr. Dickson, then professor in the university of Glasgow, Mr. Baillie, and others, had such a blessing from heaven, that he passed both his private and public trials in order for the ministry, with their highest approbation.

After being licensed, he came and preached in Kilwinning and Stevenston, to the satisfaction of all who heard him; so that they blessed God on his behalf, and were very hopeful of his great abilities.

But before Martinmas 1643, he returned to Glasgow, where he both attended to his own studies, and those of his pupil. He preached a few times in Glasgow, pleasing by his appearance all those who loved Christ and his cause and gospel. And Messrs. Dickson, Baillie, and Ramsay, in testimony of his talents in preaching, told his father, that he had much reason to bless God for the gifts and graces bestowed upon his son, and that besides this, the Lord had in reality taken him by the heart, and wrought graciously with his soul.

Mr. Mitchell had given himself much up to prayer, and the study of the word of God, and reading thereof was now become his delight. But the Lord having other thoughts concerning him, in a short time all their great expectations of him in the ministry were frustrated. By his extreme abstinence, drinking of water, and indefatigable labour, he contracted the sickness of which he died soon after. His body began to languish, his stomach to refuse all meat,

and his constitution to fail. Mr. Dickson, who took his condition much to heart, (Mr. Baillie being now at London,) kept him fifteen days with him; thereafter he went to Houston, and staid as long there, where the Lady and her daughter shewed more kindness towards him, than can well be expressed, and that not only for the care he had of her son, but also for the rare gifts and graces which God had bestowed on him. At length his father having sent for him, he returned home. During the first night of his journey, he was with Ralston; and the laird of Ducathall, being there occasionally, attended him all the rest of the way homeward: for not being able to ride two miles together, he behoved to go into a house to rest himself for an hour; such was his weakly condition.

After his arrival at home, he put on his clothes every day, for fifteen days, and after that, lay bedfast for ten weeks, until the day of his death; during which time the Lord was very merciful and gracious to him, both in an external and internal way. For his body by degrees, daily languished, till he became like a skeleton; and yet his face remained ever pleasant, beautiful, and well-coloured to the last.

During the last five or six weeks he lived, there were always three or four waiting on him, and sometimes more; yet they never had occasion to weary, but were rather refreshed with every day's continuance, by the many wise, sweet, and gracious discourses, which proceeded out of his mouth.

In his sickness, the Lord was graciously pleased to guard his mind and heart from the malice of Satan, so that his peace and confidence in God was not much disturbed; or if he suffered any little assault, it soon vanished. His experiences were not very frequent or great, but his faith and confidence in God, through Jesus Christ, which, as he told his father, was more sure and solid than the other, was always strong. He said, that the Lord, before his sickness, had made fast work with him about the matters of his soul, that before that, he had been often under strong exercises of mind, from a sense of his own guiltiness, before he had any solid peace or clear confidence, and often said, "Unworthy I, naughty I, am freely beloved of the Lord, and the Lord knows, my soul dearly loves him back again." The Lord knew his weakness to encounter temptation, and so out of tender compassion thus pitied him.

He was possessed of all manner of patience and submission under his trouble, and never was heard to murmur in the least, but often thought his Master's time well worth the waiting on, and was frequently much refreshed with seeing and hearing good and gracious neighbours, who came to visit him; so that he had little reason with Heman, to complain, *Lover and friend hast thou put far from me, and mine acquaintance into darkness.**

Among other gracious sayings, he declaimed much against im-

prudent speaking, wishing it might be amended, especially in students and young ministers; as being but the froth and vanity of a foolish mind. He lamented the pride of many such in usurping a priority of place, which became them not; and exclaimed frequently against himself for his own practice; yet said he was in the strength of God brought to mortify the same. He frequently exhorted his parents to carry themselves to one another as the word of God required, and above all things to fear God, and delight in his word. He often said, that he dearly loved the book of God, and sought them to be earnest in prayer, shewing that it was an unknown thing, and a thing of another world, and that the influence of prayer behoved to come out of heaven; and that the Spirit of supplication must be wrestled for, else all prayer would be but lifeless and natural. He mentioned, that being once with Lady Houston, and some country gentlemen at Baglas, the Spirit of prayer and supplication was poured upon him, in such a powerful and lively manner, two several days before dinner, that all present were much affected, and shed tears in abundance; and that yet at night he found himself so emptied and dead, that he durst not adventure to pray any at all these two nights, but went to bed, and was much vexed and cast down, none knowing the reason.—By this he was from that time convinced, that the dispensation and influence of spiritual and lively prayer came only from Heaven, and from no natural abilities that were in man.

On one occasion the Laird of Cunningham coming to visit him, as he did frequently, he enumerated all the remarkable passages of God's goodness and providence towards him, especially since he contracted sickness, as in shewing infinite mercy to his soul, tender compassion towards his body, patience and submission to his will without grudging, calmness of spirit without passion, solid and constant peace within and without! "This," said he, "is far beyond the Lord's manner of dealing with many of his dear saints, and now, Sir, think ye not that I stand greatly indebted to the goodness and kindness of God, who deals thus graciously and warmly with me every way;" and then burst out in praise to God in a sweet and lively manner.

At another time, the Laird being present, May 26, looking out of his bed to the sun shining brightly on the opposite side of the house, he said, "O what a splendour and glory will all the elect and redeemed saints have one day; and O! how much more will the glory of the Creator be, who shall communicate that glory to all his own, but the shallow thoughts of men are not able to conceive the excellency thereof!"

Again Mr. Macqueen being present, his father inquired at him wherein our communion with God stood? He said, "in reconciliation and peace with him, which is the first effect of our justification;" then, he observed, there was access and love to God, patience and submission to his will, &c.; then the Lord manifests himself to us, as Christ says himself, *Ye shall know that I am in the Father, and you in me, and I in you.* And again, *He that loveth me, shall*

*be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and manifest myself unto him.**

One morning to Hugh Macgavin and his father, he said, "I am not afraid of death, for I rest on infinite mercy, procured by the blood of the Lamb." Then he spake as to himself, "Fear not, little flock, it is the Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom:" and then said, "What are these who are of this little flock? Even sinners. 'I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.' But what kind of sinners? Only those who are sensible of sin and wrath, and see themselves to be lost;† therefore, says Christ, 'I came to seek and save them who are lost.' There are two words here, seeking and saving; and whom? Even those who are lost bankrupts, who have nothing to pay. These are they whom Christ seeks, and who are of his flock."

To John Kyle, another morning, he said twice over, "My soul longeth for the Lord more than they that watch for the morning." At another time, perceiving his father weeping, he said, "I cannot blame you to mourn, for I know you have thought that I might, with God's blessing, have proved a comfortable child to you; but comfort yourself in this, that ere it be long, I will be at a blessed rest, and in a far better state than I can be in this life, free from sin and every kind of misery, and within a short time ye will follow after me. And in the mean time encourage yourself in the Lord, and let not your mourning be like those who have no hope. The Lord by degrees will assuage your grief, for so he has appointed, else we would be swallowed up, and come to nought, for I could never have been removed out of this life in a more seasonable time than now, having both the favour of God and man, being hopeful that my name shall not be unsavoury when I am gone, and none know what affronts, grief, and calamities, I might have fallen into, had I lived much longer. And for crosses and trouble, how might my life have been made bitter to me! for when I think what opposition I might have ere I was an actual minister, by divisions of the people, the patron, and the presbytery, it could not but overwhelm me; and then being entered, I know not what a fighting life, with a stubborn people, might be my lot, and then what discontentment I might have in a wife, which is the lot of many an honest man, is uncertain; then cares, fears, straits of the world, reproaches of men, personal desires, and the devil and an evil world to fight with, these and many more cannot but keep a man in a struggling state in this life. And now, lest this should seem a mere speculation, I could instance these things in the persons of many worthy men; I pass at

* John xiv. 20, 21.

† There is a mistake here, which is probably owing to Hugh Macgavin's or his father's bad recollection of the conversation. It is not probable that one so well instructed as Mr. Mitchell, should limit the invitations of the gospel to sensible sinners. The gospel is addressed to sinners *as such*, even to the stout-hearted, and far from righteousness, without regard to their sense of sin and wrath, or the want of that sense.

others, and only point at one, whose gifts and graces are well known to you, viz. Mr. David Dickson, whom I am sure God has made the instrument of the conversion of many souls, and of much good in the country; and yet this gracious person has been tossed to and fro. And you know that the Lord made him a gracious instrument in the late Reformation, and yet he has, in a great measure, been slighted by the state and the kirk also. What reason have I then to bless God, who in mercy is timeously removing me from all trouble, and will make me as welcome to heaven as if I had preached forty years, for he knew it was my intention, by his grace, to have honoured him in my ministry; and seeing he has accepted the will for the deed, what reason have I to complain? for now I am willing and ready to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, which is best of all; wherefore, dear father, comfort yourself with this."

One time in conference concerning the sin in the godly, his father said to him, "I am sure you are not now troubled with corruption, being so near death." He answered, "You are altogether deceived, for as long as my foot remaineth on this earth, though the earth were translated above the clouds, my mind would not be free of sinful notions." Whereupon he regretted that he could not get his mind and affections so lifted up as he could have wished, to dwell or meditate on God, his word, and the endless life, that he could not feel such spirituality as became him, by entertaining thoughts of God's greatness and goodness, and was often much perplexed with vain thoughts; but still he was confident, that the Lord, in his rich mercy, would pity and pass by this his weakness and infirmity."

Some time before his death, he fell into several fainting fits. About ten or twelve days before his dissolution, he fell into one, and was speechless for nearly an hour, so that none present had any hopes that he would again recover; but in the mean time he was wrapt in divine contemplation. At last he began to recover, and his heart being enlarged, he opened his mouth with such lively exhortations as affected all present; and directing his speech to his father, he said, "Be glad, Sir, to see your son, yea, I say your second son, made a crowned king." To his mother also, he said, "Be of good courage, and mourn not for want of me, for ye will find me in the all-sufficiency of God:" and then exclaimed, "O death, I give thee a defiance, through Jesus Christ;" saying to the on-lookers, "Sirs, this will be a blythe and joyful good night."

In the mean time Mr. Bell came in, and to him he said, "Sir, you are welcome as witness to see me fight out my last fight." After this he fell quiet, and got some rest. Within two days, Mr Bell being come to visit him, he said, "O Sir, but I was glad the first night you were here, when I thought to be dissolved, that I might have met with my Master, and have enjoyed his presence for ever; but I was much grieved, when I perceived a little reviving; and that I was likely to live longer."

To Mr. Gabriel Cunningham, when conferring about death and



... ..

the manner of dissolution, he said, "O! how sweet a thing it were for a man to sleep to death in the arms of Christ." He had many other lively and comfortable speeches, which were not remembered; not a day passing during the time of his sickness, but the on-waiters were refreshed by him.

The night before his departure, he was sensible of great pain. Upon this he said, "I see it is true, that we must enter into heaven through trouble, but the Lord will help us through it." Then he said, "I have great pain, but mixed with great mercy, and strong confidence." He called to mind the saying of John Knox, on his deathbed, "I do not esteem that pain, which will be to me an end of all trouble, and the beginning of eternal felicity."

His last words were these: "Lord, open the gates that I may enter in;" and a little after, his father asked, What he was doing? Whereupon he lifted up his hands, and caused all his fingers shiver and twirl, and in presence of many honest neighbours, yielded up his spirit, and went to his rest a little after sunrise, upon the 11th of June 1643, being twenty-three years of age.

Thus, in the bloom of youth, Mr. Mitchell ended his Christian warfare, and entered into the heavenly inheritance, a *young* man, but a *ripe* Christian. There were three special gifts vouchsafed to him by the Lord; a notable invention, a great memory, and a ready expression.

Among other fruits of his meditation and industry, he drew up a model and frame of preaching, which he entitled, "The Method of Preaching." Many other manuscripts he left behind him, (as evidences of his indefatigable labour,) which, if yet preserved in safe custody, might be of no small benefit to the public, as it appears they have not hitherto been published.

ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

AMONG the many eminent men distinguished by learning, piety, and patriotism, whose talents were summoned into play by those events which render the middle of the seventeenth century a remarkable era in the history of Scotland, a conspicuous place is due to the subject of the following memoir.

Alexander Henderson was born about the year 1583. Of his parents and the circumstances of his early life, no authentic information has been transmitted. Being intended for the Church, he was sent to the university of St. Andrew's to complete his studies, and after having finished the usual course, and passed his degrees with applause, he was some time previous to the year 1611, elected a professor in that ancient seminary. Being a young man, ambitious of preferment, he seems to have adopted the principles, and advocated the measures of the then dominant party in the Church,

and shortly after, through the patronage of Archbishop Gladstones, he was presented to the parish of Leuchars, in the shire of Fife. This was his first ministerial appointment, and must have taken place sometime previous to the year 1615. His settlement in the charge, *thus* merited and obtained, was unpopular to such a degree, that on the day of ordination, the church doors were shut and secured by the people, so that the ministers who attended, together with the presentee, were obliged to go in by the window. It was little wonder that this was the case, considering the known and acknowledged character of the person thus obtruded upon them. With all his prejudices in favour of prelacy, he was the avowed defender of those corruptions to which the people of Scotland have ever been averse, and what was still worse, discovered but little regard for their spiritual and eternal interests.

It was not long, however, till his sentiments and character underwent a complete change.

Having heard of a communion in the neighbourhood, at which the excellent Mr. Bruce was to be an assistant, he went thither secretly; and fearful of attracting notice, placed himself in a dark corner of the church, where he might not be readily seen or known. Mr. Bruce having come into the pulpit, paused for a little, as was his usual manner, a circumstance which excited Mr. Henderson's surprise, but it astonished him much more when he heard him read as his text, these very striking words, *He that entereth not in by the door, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a THIEF and a ROBBER*;—which words, by the blessing of God, and the effectual working of the Holy Spirit, took such hold on him at that very instant, and left such an impression on his heart afterwards, that they proved the very first means of his conversion unto Christ. Ever after he retained a great affection for Mr. Bruce, and used to make mention of him with marks of the highest respect.

We need not doubt that Mr. Henderson's change of mind would soon discover itself in his conduct, and that he would strive by all means in his power to promote the edification of the people under his charge, and to remove the offence which he had caused by his first entrance among them. A concern about personal religion, and the salvation of the souls of men, has often led to a concern about the prerogatives of the King of Zion, as connected with the external government of his Church. This was exemplified in Mr. Henderson. He began to look upon the courses of the prevailing party in the Church of Scotland with a different eye from what he had done formerly, when he was guided by a worldly spirit, and by views of ambition. Their tendency he perceived to be injurious to the interests of religion. He, however, judged it proper to give the existing controversy a deliberate investigation, the result of which was, that he found Episcopacy to be equally unauthorized by the word of God, and inconsistent with the reformed constitution of the Church of Scotland. He did not long want an opportunity of publicly declaring his change of views, and of appearing on the side of that cause which he had

hitherto discountenanced. From the time that the prelatie government had first been obtruded upon the Church of Scotland, a plan had been laid to conform her worship also to the English model. After various preparatory steps, an assembly was suddenly indicted at Perth, in the year 1618; in which, by the most undue influence, a number of superstitious innovations* were authorised. Among those ministers who had the courage to oppose these innovations, and who argued against them with great force of truth, but without success, we find the name of *Mr. Alexander Henderson of Leuchars*.

In the month of August 1619, he, with two other ministers, were called before the Court of High Commission in St. Andrew's, charged with composing and publishing a book proving the nullity of Perth Assembly, and with raising a contribution to defray the expense of printing it. They appeared, and answered for themselves with such wisdom, that the bishops could gain no advantage against them, and were obliged to dismiss them with threatenings. And from this period until the year 1637, it does not appear that he suffered much, although he continued to be watched with a jealous eye, and cramped in his exertions for promoting the cause of truth and holiness. The time which he spent, however, in this retirement, though obscure on the page of history, was not the least useful period of his life. Living sequestered in his parish, and excluded from taking any share in the management of the ecclesiastical affairs of the nation, he had leisure to push his inquiries into the extensive field of theology, and the history of the Church, and laid up those stores of knowledge which he afterwards had an opportunity of discovering. The sedulous discharge of pastoral duties afforded him regular employment, and in the success with which this was attended, he enjoyed the purest gratification. Besides this, he met occasionally with his brethren of the same mind at fasts and communions, when they, by sermons and conferences, encouraged one another in adhering to the good old principles of the Church of Scotland, and joined in fervent supplications to God for the remedy of those evils under which they groaned. Mr. Livingston mentions Mr. Henderson as one of those "godly and able ministers" with whom he got acquainted in attending these solemn occasions, between the years 1626 and 1630, "the memory of whom," says he, "is very precious and refreshing."

At length the time for delivering the Church of Scotland arrived. In 1636, a book of *ecclesiastical canons* was sent down from England, and in the course of the same year, a book of *ordination*. After some delay, the Anglo-Popish *Liturgy*, or *Service-book*, which was intended to complete the changes, made its appearance. Had Scotland tamely submitted to this yoke, and allowed the threefold cord to be thrown over her, she might afterwards have sighed and struggled in vain for liberty. But the arbitrary manner in which

* Usually styled 'The Five Articles of Perth.'

these innovations were imposed, not less offensive than the matter of them, added to the dissatisfaction produced by former measures of the court and bishops, excited universal disgust, and aroused a spirit of opposition, which was not allayed, until not only the obnoxious acts were swept away, but the whole fabric of Episcopacy, which during so many years they had laboured to rear, was levelled with the dust. The tumult which was produced by the first reading of the Liturgy in Edinburgh, on the 23d of July 1637, is well known. And although Mr. Henderson had no share in this, or in any cabal or plot as his enemies have alleged, he, from the first intimation of the projected changes, expressed his disapprobation of them, and did not scruple, after their appearance, publicly to expose their dangerous tendency. While this endeared him to some, it irritated the ruling party against him, and was the occasion of his being singled out among the objects of prosecution, to deter others from imitating his example. The Archbishop of St. Andrew's charged him and other two ministers, to purchase each two copies of the Liturgy, for the use of their parishes, within fifteen days, under the pain of rebellion. Mr. Henderson immediately came to Edinburgh, and on the 23d of August, 1637, presented a petition to the privy-council for himself and his brethren, stating their objections, and praying a suspension of the charge. To this petition, and others of a similar kind from different quarters of the country, the council returned a favourable answer, and transmitted to London an account of the aversion of the country to conformity.

From this time forward, Mr. Henderson took an active share in all the measures of the petitioners against conformity, and his prudence and diligence contributed not a little to bring them to a happy issue. They soon discovered his value, and improved it by employing him in their most important and delicate transactions. After having been amused for some time with promises, the meetings of the petitioners were suddenly prohibited, by a proclamation from his Majesty, under pain of rebellion. Alarmed by this procedure, and convinced that they could not confide in the court, they saw the necessity of adopting some other method for strengthening their union. That to which they were directed was, both in a divine and human point of view, the most proper. They recollected, that formerly in a time of great danger, the nation or Scotland had entered into a solemn covenant, by which they bound themselves to continue in the true Protestant religion, and to defend and support one another in that cause against their common enemies. They therefore agreed to renew this covenant, and approved of a draught for this purpose. This draught was unanimously adopted. It was substantially the same with the national covenant, which had been sworn by all ranks, and ratified by all authorities in the kingdom during the preceding reign, but was adapted to the corruptions which had been introduced since that period, and to the circumstances in which the covenanters were placed. On the 1st of March 1638, it was sworn with uplifted hands, and subscribed in the Grayfriars church of Edinburgh by

thousands, consisting of the nobility, gentry, burgesses, ministers of the gospel, and commons, assembled from all parts of Scotland. "This memorable deed," says Mr. Laing, "of which it would be improper to forget the authors, was prepared by Alexander Henderson, the leader of the clergy, and Archibald Johnston, afterwards of Warriston, an advocate in whom the suppliants chiefly confided, and revised by Balmerino, Loudon, and Rothes.

The covenant being thus agreed upon, and sworn to by all ranks in the land, the Marquis of Hamilton was sent by the King with a view to suppress it. After several conferences to little purpose, he at last told the supporters of that measure, that the book of canons and liturgy should be discharged, on condition they should yield up their covenant; which proposition not only displeased them, but also made them more vigilant to support and vindicate that solemn deed. Upon this, Mr. Henderson was again set to work, and in a short time favoured the public with sufficient grounds and reasons why they should not recede from any part of it.

Some time after this, the Tables (as they were called) of Petitioners, who were assembled at Edinburgh for carrying on the Reformation, being sorry that the town and shire of Aberdeen (influenced by the persuasion of their doctors) stood out and opposed that work, sent some Noblemen, with Messrs. Henderson, Dickson, and Cant, to see if they could reclaim them. But upon their arrival at Aberdeen, they could have no access to preach in any church, upon which, the three ministers resolved to preach in the Earl of Marischal's close and hall, as the weather favoured them. Accordingly, they preached by turns, Mr. Dickson in the morning, to a very numerous multitude; Mr. Cant at noon; and Mr. Henderson at night, to no less an auditory than in the morning; and all of them pressed arguments for subscribing the covenant; which had such effect upon the people, that, after worship was over, about 500 persons, of whom some were people of the best quality, subscribed.*

And here one thing was very remarkable. While Mr. Henderson preached, the crowd being very great, there were some who mocked: and, among the rest, one John Logie, a student, even threw clods at the commissioners. It was, however, remarked, that within a few days after, this person killed a young boy; and though at that time he escaped justice, yet he was afterwards taken, and executed, in 1644. Such was the fate of him, who had been so forward in disturbing the worship of God, and mocking at the ambassadors of Jesus Christ!

In the same year, 1638, at the famous General Assembly, which met at Glasgow, the first which had been convened for a long period, Mr. Henderson, without one contrary vote, was chosen moderator. Considering the critical state of affairs, the period which had elapsed since a General Assembly had been held in

* See Stevenson's *History of Church and State*, vol. ii. p. 334.

Scotland, the important discussions expected, and the multitude assembled to witness them, the filling of this station in a proper manner, was of great consequence. It required a person of authority, resolution and prudence; one who could act in a difficult situation, in which he had not formerly been placed. Mr. Henderson had given evidence of his possessing these qualifications, and having by solemn prayer, constituted the Assembly *de novo*, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ; he addressed the Members in a neat and appropriate speech, and indeed throughout the whole of it, fully justified the good opinion which his brethren entertained of him. To his Majesty's commissioner he behaved with the greatest respect, and at the same time with an independence and firmness which became the president of a free assembly. His behaviour to the nobility and gentry, who were members, and to his brethren in the ministry, was equally decorous. His prudence and ability were put to the test on two occasions,—the premature dissolution of the Assembly by the royal commissioner, and the excommunication of the bishops. Of his conduct in these, it is proper to give some account.

Although the King had called the Assembly, it was not his design to allow them fairly to proceed to the discussion of ecclesiastical business, and to examine and rectify abuses. The Marquis of Hamilton, his commissioner, had instructions not to consent formally to any part of their procedure, and at a proper time to oppose a nullity to the whole. On the other hand, the members considered themselves as a free Assembly, and were resolved to claim and exercise that liberty and power which they possessed, agreeably to the laws of the land, ratifying the Presbyterian government, and the freedom of its judicatories. The declinature of the bishops having been read, at the repeated request of the commissioner, the Assembly were proceeding in course to vote themselves competent judges of the libels raised against them. Upon this, the commissioner interposed, and declared that if they proceeded to this, he could continue with them no longer, and delivered his Majesty's concessions to be read and registered. After the clerk had read them, the moderator addressed his Grace in a grave and well digested speech. But again on moving the question before them, the commissioner repeated, that in this case, it behoved him to withdraw. "I wish the contrary from the bottom of my heart," said Mr. Henderson, "and that your Grace would continue to favour us with your presence, without obstructing the work and freedom of the Assembly." But after having in vain insisted on the moderator to conclude with prayer, the commissioner did, in his Majesty's name, dissolve the Assembly, discharging them under the highest pains from continuing to sit longer.

Upon the commissioner's leaving the house, the moderator delivered an animating address to the Assembly. He reminded them of the divine countenance which had hitherto been shewn to them in the midst of their greatest difficulties. At the opening of the next session, he again addressed them, putting them in mind of the

propriety of their paying particular attention, in the circumstances in which they were now placed, to gravity, quietness, and order ; an advice which was punctually complied with, throughout the whole of that long Assembly.

The Assembly having finished the processes of the bishops, agreed, at the close of their 19th session, that the sentences passed against them should be publicly pronounced next day by the moderator, after a sermon to be preached by him, suitable to the solemn occasion. Accordingly, at the time appointed, he preached before a very large auditory, from Psal. cx. i. *The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.* After narrating the steps which the Assembly had taken, and causing an abstract of the evidence against the bishops to be read for the satisfaction of the people, he, “ in a very dreadful and grave manner,” says one who was present, “ pronounced the sentences of deposition and excommunication ; the whole Assembly being deeply affected, and filled with the mingling emotions of admiration, pity, and awe.”

On the day following, two supplications were given in, for liberty to transport him from Leuchars, the one to St. Andrew's, the other to Edinburgh ; but to neither of these was he willing to agree, having already been nearly eighteen years minister of that parish. He pled that he was now too old a plant to take root in another soil ; yet, after much contest betwixt the two parties for some days, Edinburgh carried it by seventy-five votes, very much against his inclination.—However, he submitted, on condition, that when old age should overtake him, he should again be removed to a country charge. At the conclusion of the Assembly, he addressed them in an able speech of considerable length ; of which we can here only present an outline. He apologized for the imperfect manner in which he had discharged the duties of the situation in which they had placed him, and thanked them for rendering his task so easy by the manner in which they had conducted themselves ; exhorted them gratefully to remember the wonderful goodness of the Almighty, and not to overlook the instances of favour which they had received from their temporal sovereign ; he adverted to the galling yoke from which they had been rescued ; pointed out some of the visible marks of the finger of God in effecting this ; and earnestly exhorted them to a discreet use and steady maintenance of the liberties which they had obtained. “ We are like a man that has lain long in irons,” he observed, “ who, after they are off, and he redeemed, feels not his liberty for some time, but the smart of them makes him apprehend that they are on him still : so it is with us ; we do not yet feel our liberty. Take heed of a second defection ; and rather endure the greatest extremity than be entangled again with the yoke of bondage.” In conclusion, he inculcated upon them a favourable construction of his Majesty's opposition to them ; expressed his high sense of the distinguished part which the nobles, barons, and burgesses had acted, of the harmony which had reigned among the ministers, and of the kind and

hospitable treatment which the members of Assembly had received from the city of Glasgow. After desiring some members to supply any thing which he had omitted, he concluded with prayer, singing the 133d psalm, and pronouncing the apostolical benediction. Upon which the Assembly arose in triumph. *We have now cast down the walls of Jericho*, said Mr. Henderson when the members were rising, *let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite!*

In 1639, he was one of those commissioned for the church, to treat upon the articles of pacification with* the King and his commissioners, in which difficult affair he behaved with great prudence and candour.

When the General Assembly, the same year, sat down at Edinburgh, August 12, having been the former moderator, he preached to them from Acts v. 23. *When they heard that, they were cut to the heart, and took counsel to slay them.* Towards the close of his discourse, he addressed John, Earl of Traquair, his Majesty's commissioner, in these words:—"We beseech your Grace to see that Cæsar have his own, but let him not have what is due to God, by whom kings reign. God hath exalted your grace unto many high places, within these few years, and is still doing so. Be thankful, and labour to exalt Christ's throne. When the Israelites came out of Egypt, they gave all the silver and gold they had carried thence, for the building of the tabernacle; in like manner your Grace must employ all your parts and endowments for building up the Church of God in this land." And to the members, he said, "Right Honourable, Worshipful, and Reverend, go on in your zeal and constancy; true zeal doth not cool, but the longer it burns the more fervent it will grow. If it shall please God, that by your means the light of the gospel shall be continued, and that you have the honour of being instrumental in a blessed Reformation, it shall be useful and comfortable to yourselves and your posterity. But let your zeal be always tempered with moderation; for zeal is a good servant, but a bad master; like a ship that hath a full sail, but no rudder. We had much need of Christian prudence, for we know what advantage some have attempted to take of us this way. For this reason, let it be seen to the world, that Presbytery, the government we contend for in the Church, can consist very well with monarchy in the State; and thereby we shall gain the favour of our King, and God shall get the glory." After this discourse, and the calling of the commissions, Traquair earnestly desired that Mr. Henderson might be continued moderator. Whether this was to promote his Master's designs or from a regard to Mr. Henderson's abilities, as the Earl professed, is not certain; but the Assembly opposed the motion, as favouring too much the idea of a *constant moderatorship*, one of the first steps taken towards the introduction of Prelacy; and no

* See these articles in the History of Church and State, vol. ii. p. 745, and the Civil Wars of Great Britain, p. 10, &c.

man opposed it more than Mr. Henderson himself; so, it was over-ruled.

On the 31st of the same month, Mr. Henderson was also called upon to preach at the opening of parliament, and delivered an excellent discourse from 1 Tim. ii. 1—3, in which he treated in a masterly stile of the end, duties, and utility of Magistrates.

In the year 1640, he was placed as Rector at the head of the University of Edinburgh, by the town-council of that city. They had now resolved that the office should be annual, with the view of rendering it more efficient. Nor had they any reason to repent of the election to that office of Mr. Henderson. They empowered him to superintend all matters connected with the conduct of the principal and professors, the education of youth, the revenues, &c.; to admonish offenders, and, in case of obstinacy, to make a report to the town-council. In this office, which he appears to have enjoyed, by re-election, to his death, he exerted himself sedulously to promote the interests of that learned seminary.

From the superintendence of this peaceful seat of literature, and from his pastoral functions, Mr. Henderson was again reluctantly called by a new embroilment of public affairs. The King, yielding to the importunate solicitations of the Episcopal clergy, having refused, notwithstanding his promise at the late pacification, to ratify the conclusions of the Assembly and Parliament, suddenly prorogued the latter, denounced the Scots as rebels, and prepared again to invade the country. But the success of the Scottish army, which entered England in August 1640, necessitated him a second time to accede to pacific proposals; and a treaty to this effect was begun at Rippon, which in a short time after was transferred to London. Mr. Henderson was appointed one of the commissioners for this treaty, and on this occasion distinguished himself as the author of a very able paper, which was ultimately transmitted to the English parliament, in support of the Scottish Commissioners for "unity of religion, and uniformity of church government in the two kingdoms."

Indeed, during the whole time that he was in London, attending on the treaty, which was protracted through nine months, he was laboriously employed. Besides taking his turn with his brethren, who attended as chaplains to the Scottish commissioners, in the church of St. Antholine's, which was assigned unto them as a place of public worship, he and they were often employed in preaching for the London ministers, both on Sabbath and on other days. He prepared several tracts for the press, which were published without his name. The polishing of the most important papers of the Scottish commissioners was committed to him, before they were given in to the commissioners and Parliament of England, and those which respected religion were of his composition.

During his stay in London, he had a private conference with the King, the special object of which was to procure assistance to the universities in Scotland, from the rents formerly appropriated to the bishops. He was graciously received, and got reason to expect that his request would be complied with.

He returned to Edinburgh about the end of July, 1641. The General Assembly had met at St. Andrew's some days before ; but as the Parliament, who were sitting in Edinburgh, had sent to request them to translate themselves to that place, for the conveniency of those who were members of both, and as they wished that Mr. Henderson, who had not then returned from London, should act as moderator of this meeting, the members agreed that they should meet at Edinburgh on the 27th of July, and that the former moderator should preside until that time. Mr. Henderson had been elected a member of this Assembly ; but, as it was uncertain if he could be present, his constituents had elected Mr. Fairfoul to supply his place in case of his absence, and *he* had taken his seat at St. Andrew's. Upon Mr. Henderson's arrival, Mr. Fairfoul proposed to give place to him. This was keenly opposed by Mr. Calderwood, who insisted that his commission could not now be received ; in which he was seconded by Mr. Henderson himself. But the Assembly sustained his commission, and although he deprecated the burden of moderating, this also was, by a plurality of votes, laid upon him.

Mr. Henderson delivered to the Assembly a letter which he had brought with him, from a number of ministers in London and its vicinity, requesting advice from the Assembly respecting the opinions of some of their brethren who inclined to Independency, and popular government in the Church. The Assembly gave him instructions to answer this letter. He also moved, that the Assembly should take steps for drawing up a confession of faith, catechism, directory for worship, and platform of government, in which England might afterwards agree with them ; a motion which was unanimously approved of, and the burden of preparing them at first hand was laid upon the mover ; liberty being at the same time given him, to abstain from preaching when he should find it necessary in attending to this interesting business, and of calling in the aid of such of his brethren as he pleased. He declined the task as too arduous, but it was left upon him ; and there can be little doubt, that this early appointment contributed to prepare him for giving assistance in that work, when it was afterwards undertaken by the Assembly at Westminster.

Previous to the conclusion of this Assembly, he petitioned for liberty to be translated from Edinburgh. He urged, that his voice was too weak for any of the churches in town ; that his health was worse there than in any other place, so that to keep him there was to kill him ; and that, in the act for his translation from Leuchars, there was an express clause, which provided that he should have the liberty which he now craved. The Assembly were much perplexed by this petition. It was at last granted however, but he either did not find it necessary, or was prevailed upon not to make use of the liberty which he obtained.

King Charles, having come to Scotland to be present at the Parliament held at this time, attended on the forenoon of the Sabbath after his arrival, at the Abbey Church, and heard Mr.

Henderson preach from Rom. xi. 36. *For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things : to whom be glory for ever. Amen.* In the afternoon he absented himself; but Mr. Henderson having conversed with him respecting this, he afterwards gave constant attendance. Having been appointed his chaplain, Mr. Henderson performed family-worship in the palace every morning and evening, after the Scottish form. His Majesty attended duly upon this service, and exhibited no symptom of dissatisfaction or scruple at the want of a liturgy and ceremonies; a circumstance which gave the Scots encouragement, to expect that he would easily give way to the reformation of the English service. On the last day of the meeting of Parliament, which it was the custom to hold with great solemnity, his Majesty being seated on his throne, and the estates in their places, Mr. Henderson began with prayer; and the business being finished, he closed the meeting with a sermon. The revenues of the bishoprics being divided at this Parliament; Mr. Henderson exerted himself on the occasion for the Scottish universities; and by his influence, what belonged to the bishopric of Edinburgh, and priory, was not without difficulty, procured for the university of that city. And as a recompence for his own laborious and expensive services in the cause of the public, the emoluments of the chapel-royal, amounting to about 1600 merks a-year, were conferred upon him.

Some of his friends were displeased with his conduct during this Parliament, particularly in using means to screen from punishment some persons who had entered into engagements, hostile to the late proceedings of the nation; and reports, injurious to his character, and the purity of his motives, were circulated, and, as is common in such cases, met with too easy belief. But one, who differed from him in opinion as to the measures in question, bears witness, that "his great honesty, and unparalleled abilities to serve this Church and kingdom, did ever remain untainted." In the next Assembly, he made a long and impassioned apology for his conduct. He said, that certain things for which he was blamed were done by the commissioners of the Church, not by him; that what he had received from the King for his attendance upon a painful charge, was no pension; that he had as yet touched none of it; that he was vexed with injurious calumnies. Having vented his mind, and received the sympathy of his brethren, and the assurances of their unshaken confidence in him, he recovered his cheerfulness.

During the year 1642, Mr. Henderson was employed in managing the correspondence with England respecting ecclesiastical reformation and union. The Parliament of England having abolished Prelacy, requested that some divines should be sent from Scotland to assist in the Synod which they had agreed to call. Upon this the commission of the Church met, and, being authorised by the former General Assembly, appointed certain persons as commissioners, to be ready to repair to England as soon as it should be necessary. Mr. Henderson was one of these. He was averse to the appointment, protesting, that on his former journey he thought

he should have died before he reached London; but he at last acquiesced, not without complaining, that some persons were ready to impose heavy burdens upon him, and afterwards to invent or receive reports injurious to his character.

The dissensions between the King and Parliament, which had now burst out into a civil war, for some time hindered this journey. Mr. Henderson was sincerely disposed to use every proper means for effecting a reconciliation, and joined with a number of leading men in an invitation to the Queen to come to Scotland, with a view of promoting a mediation; a proposition which was rejected by the King. After this, he went in person to his Majesty at Oxford, in company with the commissioners, who were sent to offer the mediation of Scotland. The interview, however, produced no good effect. At first his Majesty treated him with much attention, and strove to convince him of the justice of his cause; but as soon as he found that he did not acquiesce in his representation, his behaviour to him altered completely. He expressed high offence at the interest that the Scots took in the reformation of England, vindicated his employing of Papists in the army, and refused an allowance to the commissioners to proceed to London to treat with the Parliament. They were forthwith insulted in the streets by the inhabitants of Oxford, and were even under apprehensions of their personal safety. While Mr. Henderson remained there, some of the university divines wished to engage him in contröversy, by proposing certain questions to him respecting church government, but he declined the dispute, and signified that his business was with the King. Upon his return to Edinburgh, the commissioners of the Church expressed their entire satisfaction with his conduct, and their judgment was approved by the next Assembly, who pronounced his carriage to have been "faithful and wise."

The Scots being highly dissatisfied with the treatment which their commissioners had received at Oxford, soon after entered into a very close alliance with the Parliament of England, in consequence of which Mr. Henderson was, afterwards, again sent to London.

Meantime, however, upon his return he was chosen moderator to the General Assembly of 1643; which was rendered remarkable by the presence of the English commissioners, viz. Sir William Arnyn, Sir Harry Vane, Mr. Hatcher, and Mr. Darley, from the parliament, together with two ministers, viz. Stephen Marshall, a Presbyterian, and Philip Nye, an Independent. These persons were commissioned to the General Assembly, craving their aid and counsel upon the then emergent circumstances of both kingdoms, and in their presence the business of the Assembly was conducted by Mr. Henderson, in his official capacity, with great dignity and decorum. He was among the first of those nominated as commissioners, to go up in return to the parliament and Assembly of England. And so in a little after, Mr. Henderson and Mr. Gillespie, with Mr. Hatcher and Mr. Nye, set out for London, to have the solemn league ratified there, it having been agreed upon, that the union between the two kingdoms should be cemented by such a deed. They set sail from Leith

on the 30th of August. The rest of the commissioners stayed behind, until it should be returned.—Upon their arrival at London where the Assembly of Divines were now sitting, and to whom they were appointed to represent the Church of Scotland, Mr. Henderson and his brethren, received a warrant from the parliament to sit in the next meeting. This warrant was presented by Mr. Henderson, upon which the Assembly sent out three of their number to introduce them. At their entry, Dr. Twisse, the prolocutor, arose and welcomed them in name of the Assembly, and complimented them for the hazard they had undergone in the public cause, both by sea and land; after which, they were led to a place the most convenient in the house, which they kept ever after.*

The solemn league having already been approved by the two Houses of Parliament, and this venerable Assembly, the members of the latter, with those of the House of Commons, convened in St. Margaret's, Westminster, upon the 25th of September; and having first sworn, afterwards subscribed it. Immediately before they proceeded to this solemn work, Mr. Henderson delivered an address to them, in which he warmly recommended the duty, as pleasing to God, exemplified by other churches and kingdoms, and accompanied with the most astonishing success.

During the three years following, he remained at London; and was unremittingly employed in assisting the Assembly in preparing the public formularies for the religious union between the three kingdoms, which had been sworn in the solemn league. Being a stranger, and sustaining, with the rest of the commissioners from Scotland, a peculiar relation to the Assembly, he spoke but seldom in its debates. But when it was necessary to vindicate the principles of the Church of Scotland, and of the other reformed churches, from slanderous imputations, he did not keep silence. Mr. Nye, having one day undertaken to demonstrate, that the Presbyterian mode of drawing a whole kingdom under one national assembly, was formidable and pernicious to civil states and kingdoms,—Mr. Henderson, indignant at such language from one who had solemnly engaged to preserve the government of the Church of Scotland, with honest warmth repelled the charge. He remonstrated against the inflammatory tendency of such speeches, and shewed that he had calumniated not only the Church of Scotland, but all reformed churches whatever. His wisdom was displayed in preserving harmony among the members of Assembly, as to those measures which were requisite

* The following account of the order of this famous assembly, may be esteemed interesting. The prolocutor, Dr. Twisse, had a chair set at the upper end of the chapel, raised about a foot above the floor; before it stood two chairs for Dr. Burgess and Mr. White, the assessors; before these stood a table, where Mr. Byfield and Mr. Roborough, two scribes, sat; upon the prolocutor's right hand sat the Scots commissioners, on the left hand the English divines to the number of about 118, whereof about two-thirds only attended close. They met every day of the week except Saturday, for six or seven hours at a time, and began and ended with prayer.

in the prosecution of the cause, which they had all solemnly sworn to promote. But while he exerted himself in reconciling differences which arose respecting subordinate steps of procedure, he steadily resisted every attempt to introduce principles contradictory to those of the Church of Scotland, and the other reformed and Presbyterian churches.

In the beginning of the year 1645, Mr. Henderson was appointed to assist the commissioners of the two Parliaments, in the treaty between them and the King, at Uxbridge. The parliamentary commissioners were instructed to demand the abolition of Episcopacy, and the ratification of the Presbyterian government. The King's commissioners objected to the abolition of Episcopacy, upon which it was agreed to hear the divines on both sides. Mr. Henderson opened the case, and took up the ground which bade fairest for bringing the question to that speedy issue which the state of matters required. Waving the dispute as to the lawfulness of Episcopacy, he said, "The question now was, Whether or not that form of government was necessary and essential to the Church? He argued that it was not; and that in this opinion he was supported by the most eminent advocates for the Church of England since the Reformation, who had not pleaded for the divine institution, or the necessity of Episcopacy." But the advocates for Episcopacy were determined not to risk their cause upon such grounds as were palpable to all, and studied to involve the question, by introducing at large, the question respecting Episcopal government. The dispute continued a considerable time; and although, as is common on such occasions, each party claimed the victory, yet, in the judgment of auditors who must be allowed not to have been prejudiced in favour of the divine right of Presbytery, Mr. Henderson, while he equalled the King's commissioners in learning, surpassed them far in modesty. The treaty being broken off, he returned to London, and continued to assist the Assembly of Divines in their labours.

Towards the close of this year, it was judged necessary that he, with some others, should go down to Scotland, to attempt to bring about better correspondence among the nobility, who, in consequence of the distresses of the country occasioned by the ravages of the Earl of Montrose, had fallen into disunion and animosities, which were fomented by the secret artifices of the Court. But, just when they were ready to take their journey, Mr. Henderson was stopped, in consequence of the earnest request of the ministers and city of London, who represented the impropriety of his absence at that critical time, when certain questions, upon which the uniformity between the kingdoms turned, were in dependence.

In the spring of 1646, the King's affairs being entirely ruined, he threw himself, without any previous notice, into the Scottish army, which retired with him to Newcastle. He had no sooner arrived here, than he sent for Mr. Henderson, who was his chaplain, to come to him. This was a critical moment. The only measure which promised settlement to the nation, and the restoration of the King to the exercise of his authority, was his speedy consent to the estab-

lishment of the Presbyterian reformation. Mr. Henderson was judged the most fit person to deal with his Majesty about the necessity of a speedy compliance with this; and in these circumstances, notwithstanding his unfitness for the journey, he complied with the King's request.

He arrived at Newcastle about the middle of May. From his Majesty he received a welcome reception, but soon perceived, not without deep concern, that he had been deceived as to his hopes of his compliance with the requisitions of Parliament. Charles signified, that he could not in conscience consent to the abolition of Episcopacy; and proposed, that Mr. Henderson should carry on a dispute with some Episcopal divines, of whose names he gave him a list, in his presence. This Mr. Henderson declined, as what he had no authority to undertake, and what would be exceedingly prejudicial to his Majesty's affairs. It was, therefore, agreed, that the scruples which the King entertained, should be discussed in a series of papers, which should pass privately between him and Mr. Henderson. These continued from the 29th of May to the 15th of July. The papers are eight in number, five by his Majesty, who was assisted in the dispute by Sir Robert Murray, and three by Mr. Henderson.

During this controversy, Mr. Henderson's constitution having been much worn out with fatigue and travail, began to give way, and he was obliged to break off an answer to the King's last paper, and to return to Edinburgh, where in a little time after his arrival, he laid down his earthly tabernacle, in exchange for an heavenly crown, on the 19th of August 1646.

His body was interred in the Grayfriars' church-yard. As he had no family of his own, his nephew, Mr. George Henderson, performed the last kind office of humanity to his earthly part, and erected a monument over his grave with suitable inscriptions. These inscriptions testify the high esteem in which Mr. Henderson was held at the time by all classes. After the Restoration, when every species of indignity was done to the preceding work of Reformation, and those who had been active in promoting it, the Earl of Middleton, the King's commissioner, procured an order of Parliament for erasing them, and otherwise disfiguring the monument. But at the Revolution, justice was again done to his memory. The monument was repaired, and the inscriptions replaced *

* The Monument still stands entire on the South-west side of the Grayfriars' church. It is a quadrangular pillar, with an urn at the top. On one side the inscription begins with these words,

Hanc quisquis urnam transiens, &c.

On another side it begins,

Qui contra grassantes per fraudem et tyrannidem.

And the English inscription on a third side, is,

Reader bedew thine eyes,

Not that this dust here lies;

Had his enemies merely wrecked their resentment upon his perishable monument, it would have been a small matter; but they industriously strove to blast his immortal reputation. Laying hold upon the circumstance of his having died soon after his conferences with the king at Newcastle, they circulated the report that he had become a convert to his Majesty's cause, and that remorse for the part he had acted against him had hastened his death. But this report, which had not the least shadow of foundation, was contradicted by the concurring testimony of all who had access to be acquainted with his sentiments during that time.

The removal of Mr. Henderson at such a critical juncture was a great loss to the Presbyterian cause, and as such was lamented by the wisest men in the three kingdoms. He was enriched with an assemblage of endowments which have rarely met in one man, and was not more distinguished by the abilities which he displayed in his public conduct, than by the virtues which adorned his private character. Grave, yet affable and polite; firm and independent, yet modest and condescending, he commanded the respect, and conciliated the affection, of all who were acquainted with him; and the more intimately his friends knew him, they loved him the more. The power of religion he deeply felt, and tasted the comforts of the gospel. His spirit, equally removed from the coldness of the mere rationalist, and the irregular fervours of the enthusiast, breathed in all his words and actions. The love of liberty was in him a pure and enlightened flame; he loved his native country, but his patriotism was no narrow, illiberal passion; it opened to the welfare of neighbouring nations, and of mankind in general.

Called forth by the irresistible cry of his country, reduced to the utmost distress by the oppression of ambitious prelates who were supported by an arbitrary court and corrupt statesmen, he came from that retirement which was congenial to him, and entered upon the bustle of public business at a time of life when others think of retiring from it. Though he sighed after his former solitude, and suffered from the fatigues and anxiety to which he was subjected, yet he did not relinquish his station, nor shrink from the difficult tasks imposed upon him, until his feeble and shattered constitution sunk under them, and he fell a martyr to the cause.

In forming an estimate of Mr. Henderson's character, it would be improper to overlook his qualifications for assisting in ecclesiastical judicatories, and particularly the supreme council of the church to which he belonged, in which he repeatedly occupied the situation of moderator. Without infringing the liberty of the court, he could urge on a vote, or put a stop to tedious debate and desultory con-

It quicken shall again,
 And aye in joy remain;
 But for thyself the church and states,
 Whose woe this dust prognosticates.
 The fourth side of the pillar has no inscription.

versation. It was his custom, as moderator, to introduce an important question with a short speech, in which he gave a perspicuous view of the cause; and after its discussion, he also said a few words, recapitulating the grounds of the Assembly's judgment. The pertinent and religious reflections which he threw in on remarkable occurrences had often a most happy effect, sometimes filling the Assembly with deep concern, at other times cheering and elevating their minds amidst discouragements and heaviness. But, among all his qualifications, what deserves particular attention, was that faculty of fervent, sweet and appropriate prayer, which he exercised without flagging, through all the assemblies in which he moderated.

One of his colleagues and intimate acquaintances gives him no mean testimony, when he says, "May I be permitted to conclude with my earnest wish, that that glorious soul of worthy memory, who is now crowned with the reward of all his labours for God and us, may be fragrant among us as long as free and pure Assemblies remain in this land; which I hope shall be to the coming of our Lord. You know he spent his strength, wore out his days, and that he did breathe out his life in the service of God, and of His Church; this binds it on us and posterity, to account him the fairest ornament, after Mr. John Knox, of incomparable memory, that ever the Church of Scotland did enjoy."*

In consequence of his unremitting employment in public business, he had little leisure for preparing works for the press. The few sermons of his which were published, although composed hastily amidst a multiplicity of avocations, afford very favourable specimens of his talents, and justify the reputation which he gained in this species of composition. As a public speaker, he was eloquent, judicious, and popular. His eloquence was easy, but impressive; grave, but fluent. It was like the motion of a deep river, which carries one along insensibly with a full tide, rather than the rapidity of a swollen torrent. "Whenever he preached," says Grainger, "it was to crowded audiences; and when he pleaded or argued, he was regarded with mute attention."

GEORGE GILLESPIE.

GEORGE GILLESPIE was the son of Mr. John Gillespie, some time minister of the Gospel at Kirkcaldy. After he had been for some time at the university, where he surpassed most of his fellow-students, he was licensed to preach, some years previous to 1638, but could have no admission into any parish, because of the bishops having then the ascendant in the affairs of the Church. This

* Mr. Bailey in his speech to the General Assembly, 1647

obliged him to remain for some time as chaplain * in the family of the Earl of Cassilis. And here it was that he wrote that elaborate piece, though he was scarcely twenty-five years of age, entitled, *A Dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies, &c.*; which book was in the year 1637 prohibited, by proclamation, from being read, it being of too corrosive a quality to be digested by the bishops' weak stomachs.

He was at length ordained minister of Wemyss, April 26, 1638, being the first who was admitted by a presbytery in that period, without an acknowledgment of the bishops. And now he began in a more public way to exert himself in defence of the Presbyterian interest, and at the 11th session of the memorable Assembly held at Glasgow, in 1638, preached a very learned and judicious sermon from these words, *The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord, &c.*; In this sermon, the Earl of Argyle thought that he touched the royal prerogative too near, and did very gravely admonish the Assembly concerning the same; which they all took in good part, as appeared from a discourse made by the moderator in support of the admonition.

At the General Assembly held at Edinburgh in 1641, a call was tabled for Mr. Gillespie, from the town of Aberdeen; but in this instance the Lord Commissioner and himself pled his cause so well, that he was still continued at Wemyss. Yet he did not get staying there long; for the General Assembly, in the following year, ordered him to be transported to the city of Edinburgh, where it appears he continued until the day of his death, which was about six years after.

Mr. Gillespie was one of those four ministers who were sent as commissioners from the Church of Scotland to the Westminster Assembly, in the year 1643, and there he displayed himself to be a man of great parts and learning, debating with such perspicuity, strength of argument, and calmness of spirit, as few could equal, and none excel. Upon one occasion, when both the Parliament and the Assembly were met together, a long studied discourse being made in favour of Erastianism, to which none seemed ready to make answer, Mr. Gillespie being urged by his brethren the Scots commissioners, repeated the subject matter of the whole discourse, and refuted it, to the admiration of all present:—and what most surprised them was, that though it was usual for the members to take down notes of what was spoken in the Assembly for the help of their memory, and Mr. Gillespie seemed to be employed that way, during the time of the speech to which he made answer, yet these who sat next him declared, that having looked into his note-book, they found nothing written, but here and there, “Lord, send light, Lord, give assistance—Lord, defend thine own cause,” &c.

And although all our Scots commissioners had great advantages,

* It appears he was also chaplain to the Viscount Kemnuir, about the year 1634.

in that they had the first forming of all those pieces * which were afterwards revised and approved of by that Assembly, yet no one was more useful in supporting them therein than Mr. Gillespie. "None (says one of his colleagues who was present) in all the Assembly, did reason more pertinently than Mr. Gillespie: he is an excellent youth; my heart blesses God in his behalf." Again, when the passage, Acts xv. 22.† was brought forward in proof of the power of ordination, and keen disputing arose upon it,—“the very learned and accurate Gillespie,” says Mr. Baillie, a singular ornament “of our Church, than whom not one in the Assembly spoke to better purpose, nor with better acceptance to all the hearers, showed that the Greek word, by the Episcopalians, translated *Ordination*, was truly *Choosing*, importing the people's suffrages in electing their own office-bearers.” And elsewhere he says of him, “We get good help in our Assembly debates of Lord Warriston, an occasional commissioner, but of none more than the noble youth Mr. Gillespie. I admire his gifts, and bless God, as for all my colleagues, so for him in particular, as equal in these to the first in the Assembly.”‡

After his return from the Westminster Assembly, he was employed in most of the public affairs of the Church, until 1648, when he was chosen moderator of the General Assembly. In this Assembly several famous acts were made in favour of the covenanted work of Reformation, particularly that in reference to the unlawful engagement against England, at that time entered into, by the Duke of Hamilton, and those of the malignant faction. He was also one of those nominated by this assembly, to prosecute the treaty of uniformity in religion with England; but in a short time afterwards, his last sickness seized him, and he died about the 17th of December following.

Mr. Rutherford says to him, in a letter when on his deathbed, “Be not heavy, the life of faith is now called for, doing was never reckoned on your accounts, though Christ in and by you hath done more than by twenty, yea, a hundred gray haired and godly pastors. Look to that word, Gal. ii. 20. *Nevertheless, I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.*”

During his life he was always firmly attached to the work of Reformation, and continued so to the end. For about two months before his decease, he sent a paper to the Commission of the General Assembly, in which he gave faithful warning against every sin and

* Such as our Catechism, Directory for worship, Form of Church-government; and when the Confession of Faith was about to be compiled, they added to our Scots commissioners, Dr. Gouge, Dr. Hoyl, Mr. Herle the prolocutor, (Dr. Twisse being then dead), Mr. Gataker, Mr. Tuckley, Mr. Reynolds, and Mr. Reeves, who prepared materials for that purpose.

† The Editor has taken upon him to alter this reference. In the previous editions, it is Acts xvii. 28; which passage has no connection with the subject in question: He has fixed upon that given in the text, as being more likely to have been referred to in discussing such a point.

‡ See Baillie's Letters.

backsliding that he then perceived to be growing in Church and State: and last of all, he emitted the following faithful testimony against association and compliance with the enemies of truth and true godliness in these words:

"Seeing now, in all appearance, the time of my dissolution draweth near, although I have, in my latter will declared my mind of public affairs, yet I have thought good to add this further testimony, that I esteem the malignant party in these kingdoms to be the seed of the serpent, enemies to piety and Presbyterian government, pretend what they will to the contrary; a generation who have not set God before them. With the malignant are to be joined the profane and scandalous; from all which, as from heresy and error, the Lord, I trust, is about to purge his Church. I have often comforted myself, and still do, with the hopes of the Lord's purging this polluted land. Surely the Lord hath began, and will carry on that great work of mercy, and will purge out the rebels. I know there will be always a mixture of hypocrites; but that cannot excuse the conniving at gross and scandalous sinners. I recommend to them that fear God, seriously to consider, that the holy scriptures doth plainly hold forth, 1. That the helping of the enemies of God, joining or mingling with wicked men, is a sin highly displeasing. 2. That this sin hath ordinarily ensnared God's people into divers other sins. 3. That it hath been punished of God with grievous judgments. And 4. That utter destruction is to be feared, when a people, after great mercies and judgments, relapse into this sin.*

"Upon these and the like grounds, for my own exoneration, that so necessary a truth want not the testimony of a dying witness of Christ, although the unworthiest of many thousands, and that light may be held forth, and warning given, I cannot be silent at this time, but speak by my pen when I cannot by my tongue, yea, now also by the pen of another, when I cannot by my own, seriously, and in the name of Jesus Christ, exhorting and obtesting all that fear God, and make conscience of their ways, to be very tender and circumspect, to watch and pray, that they be not ensnared in that great and dangerous sin of compliance with malignant or profane enemies of the truth, which if men will do, and trust God in his own way, they shall not repent it, but to the greater joy and peace of God's people, they shall see his work go on and prosper gloriously. In witness of these premises, I have subscribed the same, at Kirkcaldy, 15th December, 1618, before these witnesses." In about two days after, he gave up the ghost, death shutting his eyes, that he might see God, and be for ever with Him.

Thus died George Gillespie, very little past the prime of life; an excellent divine, a man of much boldness, and great freedom of expression. He signalized himself on every occasion in which he was called to exercise any part of his ministerial function. No man's death, at the time, was more lamented than his; and such was the

* *Edin. Rec.* 13, 14.

sense the public had of his merit, that the Committee of Estates, by an act dated December 20, 1648, did, "as an acknowledgment for his faithfulness in all the public employments intrusted to him by this Church, both at home and abroad, his faithful labours, and indefatigable diligence in all the exercises of his ministerial calling, for his Master's service, and his learned writings published to the world, in which rare and profitable employments, both for Church and state, he truly spent himself, and closed his days, ordain, That the sum of one thousand pounds sterling should be given to his wife and children." And though the parliament, by their act dated June 8, 1650, unanimously ratified the above resolution, and recommended to their Committee to make the same effectual; yet the Usurper presently over-running the country, this good design was frustrated, as his grandson, the Rev. George Gillespie, minister of Strathmiglo, did afterwards declare.*

Besides, "The English Popish Ceremonies" already mentioned, he wrote also, "Aaron's Rod Blossoming," and his Miscellaneous Questions, first printed in 1649; all which, with the forecited testimony and some other papers, show that he was a man of most profound parts, learning, and abilities.

JOHN M'CLELLAND.

AFTER having gone through the several branches of useful learning, Mr. M'Clelland was for some time employed in teaching a school at Newton in Ireland; where he became instrumental in training up some very hopeful young men for the university. He was afterwards tried and approved of by the Presbyterian ministers in the county of Down, and being licensed, preached in their churches, until, among others, for his faithfulness, he was deposed and excommunicated by the bishops.

He was also united with the rest of his faithful brethren in their intended voyage to New England in 1636; but that enterprise proving abortive, by reason of a storm, which forced them to put back to Ireland, he preached for some time through the counties of Down, Tyrone, and Donnegal, in private meetings, till being pursued by the Bishop's official, he was obliged to come over in disguise to Scotland, where, about the year 1638, he was admitted minister of Kirkcudbright; and in this place continued until the day of his death.

It would appear he was married to one of Mr. Livingstone's wife's sisters, and the strictest friendship subsisted betwixt him and that worthy man, both while in Ireland, and after their return to

* See Preface to Stevenson's History.

Scotland. While he was minister of Kirkcudbright, he discovered more than ordinary diligence, not only in testifying against the corruptions of the time, but also for his own singular walk and conversation, being one who was set for the advancement of all the interests of religion, and that as well in private duties as in public. For instance, when Mr. Guthrie, then minister at Stirling, (afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld,) thought to have brought in a complaint to the General Assembly of 1639, against private society meetings, which were then become numerous throughout the land, some of the leading members, knowing that he did it partly out of resentment against the Laird of Leckie, who was a great supporter of these meetings, thought proper, rather than that it should come to the Assembly, to agree that he should preach up the duty and necessity of family religion, and that Messrs. McClelland, Blair, and Livingstone, should preach against such meetings, and other abuses. These brethren, however, whilst they endeavoured by conference to gain such as had offended by excess in this practice, could by no means be prevailed on to preach against it, which so offended Mr. Guthrie, that he gave in a complaint to the General Assembly of 1640, alleging that these three ministers were the only encouragers of the meetings complained of. Mr. McClelland took him up and craved that a committee might be appointed to investigate the disorders in question, and to censure the offenders, whether those complained of or the complainers, which so nettled Mr. Guthrie, the Earl of Seaforth, and others of their fraternity, that nothing for some time was heard in the Assembly, on account of the confusion and noise stirred up by them.

Mr. McClelland was also one who was endued with the spirit of discerning what should afterwards come to pass, as is evident from some of his prophetic expressions,* particularly from a letter which he wrote to John Lord Kirkcudbright, dated February 20th, 1649, a little before his death; an abstract of which may not be improper, and is as follows:

* The worthy compiler will have it that some of the worthies were prophets. The first part of this sentence, "the spirit of discerning what should afterwards come to pass," is, however, strong enough; and this may be conceded without admitting a supernatural gift. About a dozen years ago, when Buonaparte was about to invade Russia, I recollect reading in a newspaper, that one who had endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose, finding he could not prevail, quoted to him the proverb, "*Man proposes, but God disposes*," to which he indignantly replied, I dispose as well as propose. A Christian lady, who never pretended to have the gift of prophecy, on hearing the impious boast, remarked, "I set that down as the turning point of Buonaparte's fortunes. God will not suffer a creature with impunity, thus to usurp his prerogative." This was no certain ground to conclude any thing with regard to Buonaparte's mortal career, because such impiety is not always punished in the present life. We know of one who sits in the temple of God, exalting himself above all that is called God, and that is worshipped; and he has practised and prospered for hundreds of years. It happened to Buonaparte, however, just as the lady predicted. His invasion of Russia was the commencement of his fall; and I believe this was as good a prophecy as any since the apostles' days.

“My noble Lord,

“I have received yours, and do acknowledge my obligation to your Lordship is redoubled. I long much to hear what decision followed on that debate concerning patronages.* Upon the most exact trial, they will be found a great plague to the kirk, an obstruction to the propagation of religion. I have reason to hope that such a wise and well constitute parliament will be loath to lay such a yoke upon the churches, of so little advantage to any man, and so prejudicial to the work of God, as hath been many times represented. Certainly the removing it were the stopping the way of simony, except we will apprehend that whole presbyteries will be bribed for patronage. I can say no more but what Christ said to the Pharisees, ‘It was not so from the beginning;’ the primitive Church knew nothing of it.

“But as for their pernicious disposition to a rupture with the secretaries, I can say nothing to them; only this, I conclude their judgment sleeps not: *Shall they escape? shall they break the covenant and be delivered?*† which I dare apply to England, I hope, without wresting of Scripture: *And therefore thus saith the Lord God, As I live, surely mine oath that he hath despised, and my covenant that he hath broken, even it will I recompense on his own head.* This covenant was made with Nebuchadnezzar, the matter was civil, but the tie was religious; wherefore the Lord owns it as his covenant, be-

* Although patronage be a yoke upon the neck of the Church, which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear, contrary to the following scriptures, viz. Acts i. 13. &c. vi. 6. xiv. 23. 2 Cor. viii. 19. to the practice of the primitive church, to reason, and to the natural rights of mankind; yet in the beginning of our Reformation from Popery, it was somewhat more tolerable (not to say necessary) than now, when there were few ministers, the people but just emerging out of gross darkness, and our noblemen and gentlemen being then generally not only pious religious men, but also promoters of the Reformation, (the quite contrary of which is the case at present :) but still our wise reformers, while in an advancing state, made several acts, both in Church and state, as barriers against this increasing evil, and never rested until, by an act of parliament 1649, they got it utterly abolished. Soon after the Restoration, this act, among others, was declared null, and patronage in its full force restored; which continued till the Revolution, when its form was changed, by taking that power from patrons, and lodging it in the hands of such heritors and elders as were qualified by law. But as if this had not been enough to denude the people of that right purchased to them by the blood of Christ, patronage was, in its full extent, by act of Parliament 1712, restored, and is now universally practised, with as bad circumstances as ever. And yet it is to be feared after all, that there are many nowadays more irritated and chagrined at this evil, because it more sensibly crosses their own inclination, than because it is an usurpation upon the Church of Christ, else they would give a more ample testimony against the other branches of encroachment made upon Christ’s crown and royal dignity. Those who would see more of the evil consequences of patronage, and popular elections vindicated, may consult *Reverentius instruendum*; Park upon Patronage; the Suffrages of the People; the full Vindication of the People’s Right, a plea for the Church of Scotland against Patronage; the Candid Inquiry; and, An Attempt to prove every species of Patronage foreign to the nature of the Church, &c.

† Ezek. xvii. 16, &c.

cause God's name was invoked and interponed in it: and he calls England to witness. England's covenant was not made with Scotland only, but with the high and mighty God, principally for the reformation of his house, and it was received in the most solemn manner that I have heard; so that they may call it God's covenant both formally and materially: and the Lord did second the making of it with more than ordinary success to that nation. Now, it is manifestly despised and broken in the sight of all nations; therefore it remains that the Lord avenge the quarrel of his covenant.* England hath had to do with the Scots, French, Danes, Picts, Normans, and Romans, but they never had such a party to deal with as the Lord of armies, pleading for the violation of his covenant, &c. Englishmen shall be made spectacles to all nations for a broken covenant, when the living God swears, *As I live, even the covenant that he hath despised, and the oath that he hath broken, will I recompense upon his own head.* There is no place left for doubting. *Hath the Lord said it, hath the Lord sworn it? and will he not do it?* His assertion is a ground for faith, his oath a ground of full assurance of faith, if all England were as one man, united in judgment and affection, and if it had a wall round about it reaching to the sun, and if it had as many armies as it has men, and every soldier had the strength of Goliath, and if their navies could cover the ocean, and if there were none to peep out or move the tongue against them, yet I dare not doubt of their destruction; when the Lord hath sworn by his life, that he will avenge the breach of covenant. When, and by whom, and in what manner he will do it, I do profess ignorance, and leave it to his glorious Majesty, his own latitude, and will commit it to him, &c.

"My Lord, I live and will die, and if I be called home before that time, I am in the assured hopes of the ruin of all God's enemies in the land; so I commit your Lordship and your Lady to the grace of God

JOHN M'CLELLAND.

A very little after he wrote this letter, in one of his sermons he expressed himself much to the same purpose, Thus: "The judg-

* And may we not tremble and be afraid of the same judgments? for how applicable is this to our case in Scotland at present, wherein these our national vows and covenants are not only slighted and neglected, yea, flouted at by many in this profane generation, but even some having a more seeming zeal for religion, stand not to argue and say, "That although these covenants were binding on our forefathers who made and took them, yet they can be no way obligatory on us, who were never personally engaged therein." But let such for certainty know that as these solemn vows have their foundation in scripture, Num. xxx. 2. Deut. x. 3. Josh. xxiv. 11. Psalm. lxxvi. 25. Isa. xix. 18. Jer. l. 5. Gal. iii. 15. the duties engaged to therein being purely theological and moral, they must have respect unto all circumstances and periods of time; and besides their form being *formalis ratio* i. e. formal reason, and the action solemn, the Majesty of Heaven being both a party and witness therein, the obligation must be perpetual, which no mortal on earth can lawfully dispense with, and so must bind and oblige all Scotsmen under penalty of breach of God's covenant, while sun and moon endure.

ments of England shall be so great, that a man shall ride fifty miles through the best plenished parts of England, before he hear a cock crow, a dog bark, or see a man's face." Also he farther asserted, "that if he had the best land of all England, he would make sale of it for two shillings the acre, and think he had come to a good market."* And although this may not have had its full accomplishment as yet, still there is ground to believe that it will be fulfilled, for the Lord will not alter the word that is gone out of his mouth.†

Mr. McClelland continued nearly twelve years at Kirkcudbright. About the year 1650, he was called home to his Father's house, to the full fruition of that which he had before seen in vision.

He was a man most strict and zealous in his life, and knew not what it was to be afraid of any man in the cause of God, being one who was most nearly acquainted with him, and knew much of his Master's will. Surely the Lord doth nothing but what he revealeth to his servants the prophets.

A little before his death he made the following epitaph on himself.

Come, stingless death, have o'er, lo! here's my pass,
In blood character'd by his hand who was,
And is, and shall be. Jordan, cut thy stream,
Make channels dry. I bear my Father's name,
Stamp'd on my brow. I'm ravished with my crown,
I shine so bright, down with all glory, down,
That world can give. I see the peerless port,
The golden street, the blessed soul's resort!—
The tree of life, floods gushing from the throne,
Call me to joys. Begone, short woes, begone;
I live to die, but now I die to live,
I now enjoy more than I could believe.
The promise me unto possession sends,
Faith in fruition, hope in having, ends.

DAVID CALDERWOOD.

MR. CALDERWOOD, after having spent some time at the grammar-school, went to the university to study theology, with a view to the ministry. And after a short time being found fit for that office, he was appointed minister of Crailing, near Jedburgh. Here for a considerable time, he preached the word of God with great wisdom,

* See the forementioned letter and note in a pamphlet entitled, *Some Predictions or Prophecies of our Scots worthies*, from p. 20, &c.

† This is very true; but it is not proved that God ever spoke such words concerning England. Certainly this prediction has not been fulfilled, though Mr. McClelland, from what he says he would do if he had land to sell, seems to have expected it at no distant date.

zeal, and diligence, and as a faithful wise harvest-man, brought in many sheaves into God's granary. But it being then a time when prelacy was on the advance in the Church, and faithful ministers every where thrust out and suppressed, he, among the rest, gave in his declination in 1608, and thereupon took instruments in the hands of a notary-public, in presence of some of the magistrates and council of the town. Upon this information being given to the King by the bishops, a direction was sent down from him to the Council, to punish him and another minister who declined, exemplarily; but by the earnest dealing of the Earl of Lothian with the Chancellor, in favour of Mr. Calderwood, their punishment resolved only into confinement within their own parish.

Here he continued, therefore, until June, 1617, when he was summoned to appear before the High Commission Court at St. Andrew's, upon the 8th of July following. Being called upon, and his libel read and answered, the King being present, among other things said, "What moved you to protest?"—"An article concluded among the Lords of the Articles," Mr. Calderwood answered. "But what fault was there in it," said the King. "It cutteth off our General Assemblies," was his reply. The King, having the protestation* in his hand, challenged him for some words of the last clause of it. He answered, "Whatsoever was the phrase of speech, they meant no other thing but to protest, that they would give passive obedience to his Majesty, but could not give active obedience unto any unlawful thing which should flow from that article." "Active and passive obedience!" said the king.—"That is, we will rather suffer than practise," said Mr. Calderwood. "I will tell thee," said the King, "what is obedience, man.—What the centurion said to his servants, *To this man, Go, and he goeth, and to that man, Come, and he cometh*, that is obedience."—He answered, "To suffer, Sir, is also obedience, howbeit not of the same kind; and that obedience was not absolute, but limited, with exception of a countermand from a superior power." "I am informed," said the king, "ye are a refractor; the Bishop of Glasgow your ordinary, and Bishop of Caithness the moderator, and your presbytery, testify ye have kept no order, ye have repaired to neither presbytery nor synod, and are no way conform. He answered, "I have been confined these eight or nine years, so my conformity or non-conformity in that point could not be well known." "Gude faith, thou art a very knave," said the King; "see these same false Puritans, they are ever playing with equivocations."—The King asked, if he was released, if he would obey or not?—He answered, "I am wronged, in that I am forced to answer such questions, which are beside the libel," after which he was removed.

When called in again, it was intimated to him, that if he did not repair to synods and presbyteries between this and October,

* This protestation had been given in a little before this, to a meeting of ministers, in the Little Kirk of Edinburgh. See Calderwood's History, p. 675.

conform in that time, and promise obedience in all time coming, the Bishop of Glasgow was to deprive him. He then begged leave to speak to the bishops; which being granted, he reasoned thus: "Neither can ye suspend or deprive me in this Court of High Commission, for ye have no power in this court but by commission from his Majesty; his Majesty cannot communicate that power to you which he claims not to himself." At which the King wagged his head, and said to him, "Are there not bishops and fathers in the church, persons clothed with power and authority to suspend, and depose?"—"Not in this court," answered Mr. Calderwood. At which words there arose a confused noise, so that he was obliged to extend his voice, that he might be heard. In the end the King asked him, if he would obey the sentence? To which he answered, "Your sentence is not the sentence of the Kirk, but a sentence null in itself, and therefore I cannot obey it." At which some, reviling, calling him a proud knave. Others were not ashamed to shake his shoulders, in a most insolent manner, till at last he was removed a second time.

Being again called in, the sentence of deprivation was pronounced, and he ordained to be committed to close ward in the tolbooth of St. Andrew's till further orders should be taken for his banishment; upon which he was upbraided by the bishop, who said, that he deserved to be used as Ogilvy, the Jesuit, who was hanged. When he would have answered, the bishops would not allow him, and the King, in a rage, cried, "Away with him;"—and upon this, Lord Scone taking him by the arm, led him out, where they staid some time waiting for the bailiffs of the town. In the meantime Mr. Calderwood said to Scone, "My Lord, this is not the first like turn that hath fallen into your hand."—"I must serve the King," said Scone. And to some ministers standing by, he said, "Brethren, ye have Christ's cause in hand at this meeting, be not terrified with this spectacle, prove faithful servants to your Master." Scone took him to his own house till the keys of the tolbooth were had. By the way one demanded, "Whither with the man, my Lord?"—"First to the tolbooth, and then to the gallows," said Scone.

He was committed a close prisoner, and the same afternoon a charge was given to transport him to the jail of Edinburgh. Upon this, he was delivered to two of the guard to be transported thither, although several offered to bail him, that he might not go out of the country. But no order of council could be had to that effect, for the King had it in design to keep him in close ward till a ship was ready to convey him first to London, and then to Virginia. But Providence had ordered otherwise; for, upon several petitions in his behalf, he was liberated from prison, upon Lord Cranston being bail that he should depart out of the country.

After this, he went with Lord Cranston to the King at Carlisle, where the said Lord presented a petition in his favour, to the effect that he might only be confined to his parish; but the King inveighed against him so much, that at last he repulsed Cranston with his elbow. He insisted again for a prorogation of the time of his

departure till the last of April, because of the winter-season, that he might have leisure to get up his year's stipend.—The king answered, “Howbeit he begged, it were no matter, he would know himself better the next time; and for the season of the year, if he drowned in the seas, he might thank God that he had escaped a worse death.” Yet Cranston being so importunate for the prorogation, the King answered, I will advise with my bishops. Thus the time was delayed until the year, 1619, that he wrote a book, called *Perth Assembly*, when he was condemned by the Council in December of that year;—but, as he himself says,* neither the book nor the author could be found, for in August preceding he had embarked for Holland.

During his abode there, one Patrick Scot, a landed gentleman near Falkland, having wasted his patrimony, had no other means to recover his estate, but by some unlawful measure at Court; and for that end, in 1624, he set forth a recantation, under the name of a banished minister, viz. Mr. Calderwood, who, because of his long sickness before, was supposed by many to have been dead. The King, as he alleged to some of his friends, furnished him with the matter, and he set it down in form. This project failing, he went over to Holland, and sought Mr. Calderwood in several towns, particularly in Amsterdam, in order to despatch him, as afterwards appeared. After he had staid twenty days in Amsterdam, making all the search he could, he was informed that Mr. Calderwood had returned home privately to his native country; which frustrated his intention.—After the death of King James, he put out a pamphlet full of this, entitled *Vox vera*, and yet notwithstanding all his wicked and unlawful pursuits, he died soon after, so poor that he had not wherewith to defray the charges of his funeral.

Mr. Calderwood being now returned home, after the death of King James, remained as private as possible, and was mostly at Edinburgh, where he strengthened the hands of non-conformists, being also a great opposer of sectarianism, until after 1638, when he was admitted minister of Pencaitland, in East Lothian.

He contributed very much to the covenanted work carried on after that period; for first he had an active hand in drawing up some excellent papers wherein were contained the records of church policy betwixt 1576 and 1596, which were presented and read by Mr. Johnston, the Clerk, to the General Assembly at Glasgow, in 1638; and then, by recommendation of the General Assembly of 1646, he was required to consider the order of the visitation of kirks, and trials of presbyteries, and to make report thereof unto the next assembly; and again at the General Assembly of 1648, a further recommendation was given him, to make a draught of the form of visitation of particular congregations, against the next Assembly; he was also one of those appointed, with Mr. Dickson, to

draw up the form of the Directory for the public worship of God by the General Assembly of 1643.*

After having both spent and been spent, with the apostle, for the cause and interest of Jesus Christ, while the English army lay at Lothian during 1651, he went to Jedburgh, where he sickened, and died in a good old age. He was another valiant champion for the truth, who, in pleading for the crown and interest of Jesus Christ, knew not what it was to be daunted by the face and frowns of the highest and most incensed adversaries.

Before he went to Holland, he wrote the book entitled, *Perth Assembly*. While in Holland, he wrote that learned book called *Altare Damascenum*, with some other pieces in English, which contributed somewhat, to keep many straight in that declining period. After his return, he wrote his well known history of our Church as far down as the year 1625, of which the printed copy is only a short abstract of the manuscript, which both as to the style and the manner is far preferable; and yet all this derogates nothing from the truth of the facts reported in the printed copy; and therefore no offence need be taken at the information, that there is a more full copy than has yet been printed.



HUGH BINNING.

THIS truly eminent man was son to John Binning of Dalvenan, and Margaret M'Kell, daughter of Mr. Matthew M'Kell, minister of Bothwell, and sister to Mr. Hugh M'Kell, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. His father's worldly circumstances were so good, (being possessed of a considerable estate in the shire of Ayr,) that he was enabled to give him a very liberal education, the good effects of which appeared very early;—for the greatness of his spirit and capacity of judgment gave his parents good grounds to conceive the most pleasing hopes of his future eminence.

When at the grammar-school, he attained such proficiency in the knowledge of the Latin tongue, and the Roman authors, that he outstripped his fellow-scholars universally, even such as were by some years, older than himself. When they went to their diversions, he declined their society, and chose to employ himself either in secret prayer to God, or conference with religious people, thinking time was too precious to be lavished away in those things. He began to

* Mr. Calderwood gave in a protest against the Assembly of 1649, for enacting the Directory for election of ministers; which protest was not given in favour of patronage, as the author of the Modest Inquiry would insinuate; for Mr. Calderwood, in his *Altare Damascenum*, hath affirmed once and again, in the strongest terms, the people's right to choose their own pastor.

have sweet familiarity with God, and to live in near communion with him, before others began seriously to lay to heart their lost and undone state and condition by nature; so that before he arrived at the 13th or 14th year of his age, he had attained to such experience in the ways of God, that the most judicious and exercised Christians in the place confessed they were much edified, strengthened, and comforted by him, nay, that he provoked them to diligence in the duties of religion, from their being sensible that in this respect they were much outrun by him.

Before he was fourteen years of age, he entered upon the study of philosophy in the university of Glasgow, in which he made a very considerable progress, and came to be taken notice of both by professors and students, whilst at the same time he advanced remarkably in religion also. The abstruse depths of philosophy, which are the torture of a slow genius and a weak capacity, he dived into without pain or trouble; so that, by his ready apprehension of things, he was able to do more in one hour than others could do in many days by hard study and close application; and yet was ever humble, and free from self-conceit, the common foible of young men.

As soon as his course of philosophy was finished, he commenced Master of Arts, with much applause, and then began the study of divinity with a view to serve God in the holy ministry. At this time there happened to be a vacancy in the College of Glasgow, by the resignation of Mr. James Dalrymple* of Stair, who had for some time been his master. And though Mr. Binning was but lately his scholar, yet he was determined, after much entreaty, to stand as a candidate for the situation.

According to the usual custom, the masters of the college emitted a program, and sent it to all the universities of the kingdom, inviting such as had a mind for the profession of philosophy, to sist themselves before them, and offer themselves to compete for the preferment: giving assurance, that, without partiality, the place should be conferred upon him who should be found *dignior ceteris*.†

The ministers of Glasgow, considering how much it was the interest of the Church that well-qualified persons should be put into the profession of philosophy; and knowing that Mr. Binning was eminently pious, and of a bright genius, as well as of a solid judgment, set upon him to sist himself among the competitors. They had much difficulty to overcome his modesty, but at last prevailed upon him

* This gentleman entered advocate in 1648, and was by the Protector made one of the Judges of the Session in 1657, and became President in 1681. In 1682, he had to retire to Holland; in 1689 he was restored to his office; and in 1690 was created a Viscount. He wrote the institutions of the Law of Scotland, and also published a system of physick, greatly valued at that time, and also a book entitled, a Vindication of the Divine Attributes, in which there is discovered great force of argument and sound knowledge.

† The most worthy and the most learned.

to undertake the dispute before the masters. Among others, there were other two candidates, one of whom had great interest with Dr. Strange, Principal of the college, and the other a scholar of great abilities; yet Mr. Binning so acquitted himself in all parts of his trial, that to the conviction of the judges, he eclipsed his rivals. But the Doctor, and some of the faculty who joined him, though they could not pretend the person they inclined to prefer had an equality, much less a superiority, in the dispute, yet argued, that he was a citizen's son, of a competency of learning, and a person of more years; and by that means had greater experience than Mr. Binning could be supposed to have. To this, however, it was replied, That Mr. Binning was such an accomplished scholar, so wise and sedate, as to be above all the follies and vanities of youth; and that what was wanting in years was made up sufficiently by his more than ordinary and singular endowments. Whereupon a member of the faculty, perceiving the struggle to be great, as (indeed there were plausible reasons on both sides,) proposed a dispute between the two candidates *extempore*, upon any subject they should be pleased to prescribe. This put a period to the division amongst them; and those who had opposed him, not being willing to engage their friend with such an able antagonist a second time, Mr. Binning was elected.

He was not quite nineteen years of age when he commenced regent and professor of philosophy; and though he had not time to prepare systematically any part of his course, having instantly to begin his class, yet such was the quickness and fertility of his invention, the tenaciousness of his memory, and the solidity of his judgment, that his dictates to the scholars had a depth of learning, and perspicuity of expression seldom equalled, and he was among the first in Scotland that began to reform philosophy from the barbarous terms and unintelligible jargon of the schoolmen.

He continued in this profession three years, and discharged his trust so as to gain the general applause of the university. And this was the more remarkable, that having turned his thoughts towards the ministry, he carried on his theological studies at the same time, and made great improvements therein; for his memory was so retentive, that he scarcely forgot any thing he had read or heard. It was easy for him to write out any sermon, after he returned to his chamber from hearing it, at such a length, that the intelligent and judicious reader, who had heard it preached, should scarcely find one sentence wanting.

During this period, he gave full proof of his progress and knowledge in divinity, by a composition from 2 Cor. v. 14; which performance he sent to a gentlewoman at Edinburgh for her private edification; who having perused the same, supposed it to be a sermon of some eminent minister in the west of Scotland, and put it into the hands of the then provost of Edinburgh, who judged of it in the same manner. But when she returned to Glasgow, she found her mistake, by Mr. Binning's asking it of her. This was the first discovery he had given of his abilities in explaining the scripture.

At the expiration of three years, which he spent as professor of philosophy, the parish of Govan, which lies adjacent to the city of Glasgow, happened to be vacant; and before this, whoever was Principal of the college of Glasgow, was also minister there; but this being attended with inconveniences, an alteration was made; and the presbytery having in view to supply the vacancy with Mr Binning, they took him upon trials, in order to be licensed as a preacher;—and preaching there to the great satisfaction of that people, he was some time after called to be minister of that parish. This call the presbytery approved of, and entered him upon trials for ordination, about the twenty-second year of his age, which he went through to the unanimous approbation of the presbytery, who gave their testimony to his fitness to be one of the ministers of the city upon the first vacancy, having it in view, at the same time, to bring him back to the university, whenever the profession of divinity should be vacant.

He was, considering his age, a prodigy of learning; for before he had arrived at the 26th year of his life, he had such a large stock of useful knowledge, as to be called *philologus, philosophus, et theologus eximius*, and he might well have been an ornament to the most famous and flourishing university in Europe. This was the more surprising, considering his weakness and infirmity of body, as not being able to read much at a time, or to undergo the fatigue of continual study; insomuch that his knowledge seemed rather to have been born with him, than to have been acquired by hard and laborious study.

Though bookish, and much intent upon the fulfilling of his ministry, he turned his thoughts to marriage, and espoused Barbara Simpson, the excellent daughter of Mr. James Simpson, a minister in Ireland. Upon the day on which he was to be married, he went, accompanied with his friend and some others, among whom were several ministers, to an adjacent country-congregation, upon the day of their weekly sermon. The minister of the parish delayed sermon till they should come, hoping to put the work upon one of the ministers whom he expected to be there; but all declining it, he tried next to prevail on the bridegroom, with whom he succeeded, though the invitation was not expected. It was no difficult task to him to preach upon a short warning; he stepped aside a little, to premeditate, and implore his Master's presence and assistance, (for he was ever afraid to be alone in this work,) entered the pulpit immediately and preached upon 1 Pet. i. 15. *But as he which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation.* And at this time he was so remarkably helped that all acknowledged that God was with him of a truth.

When the unhappy differences betwixt the resolutioners and protesters fell out, Mr. Binning took part with the latter of these denominations. This distinction, however, proved of fatal consequence. He saw some of the evils of it in his own time, and being of a catholic and healing spirit, with a view to the cementing of differences, he wrote an excellent treatise on Christian love, which

contains many strong and pathetic passages, most apposite to this subject. He was no fomentor of factions, but studious of the public tranquillity. He was a man of moderate principles and temperate passions, never imposing or overbearing upon others, but willingly hearkened to advice, and always yielded to reason.

The prevailing of the English sectarians under Oliver Cromwell,* to the overthrow of the presbyterian interest in England, and the various attempts which they made in Scotland on the constitution and discipline of this church, was one of the greatest difficulties, which the ministers had then to struggle with. Upon this he has many excellent reflections in his sermons, particularly in the sermon from Deut. xxxii. 4, 5.†

After having laboured four years in the ministry, serving God with his spirit in the gospel of his Son, he died in 1653, of a consumption, when he was scarcely arrived at the prime and vigour of life, being only in the 26th year of his age; leaving behind him a sweet savour, and an epistle of commendation, upon the hearts of those who were his hearers.

He was a person of singular piety, of an humble, meek, and peaceable temper, a judicious and lively preacher; nay, so extraordinary a person, that he was accounted a prodigy in human learning and knowledge of divinity. From his childhood he knew the scriptures; and from a boy had been much under deep and spiritual exercise, until the time, or a little before, that he entered upon the office of the ministry. He then began to enjoy much tranquillity of mind, being mercifully relieved from all those doubtings, which for a long time he had been exercised with; and though he studied in his discourses to condescend to the capacity of the meaner sort of hearers, yet it must be owned, that his gift of preaching was not so much accommodated to a country congregation as it was to the judicious and learned. Mr. Binning's method was peculiar to himself, much after the haranguing way. He was no stranger to the rules of art; and knew well how to make his matter subservient to the subject he handled. His style and language are easy and fluent, void of all affectation and bombast; and has a kind of undesigned and negligent elegance, which arrests the reader's attention. Considering the age he lived in, it might be said, that he carried the orator's prize from his contemporaries in Scotland; and was not at that time inferior to the best pulpit-orator in England.‡ While he lived, he was highly es-

* It is said that the Presbyterians and Independents being on a certain time to dispute before Cromwell, while he was in Scotland, in or about Glasgow, Mr. Binning being present, so managed the points controverted, that he not only non-plussed Cromwell's ministers, but even put them to shame, which after the dispute, made Oliver ask the name of that learned and bold young man; and being told his name was Mr. Hugh Binning, he said, "He hath bound well indeed," "but," clapping his hand on his sword, he said again, "This will loose all again."

† See his works, p. 502, 557, &c.

‡ This is saying a great deal, but not more we are persuaded than the truth warrants. Mr. Binning, in the clear arrangement, the evangelical matter, and the correct style of his sermons, was decidedly superior to any theological writer

teemed, having been a successful instrument of saving himself, and them that heard him: of turning sinners unto righteousness, and of perfecting the saints. He died much lamented by all good people who had the opportunity of knowing him. That great divine, Mr. James Durham, gave him this verdict; "That there was no speaking after Mr. Binning;" and truly he had the tongue of the learned, and knew how to speak a word in season.

Besides his Works, which are bound up in one quarto volume, and that wrote upon occasion of the public resolutions, which has been already mentioned, some other little pieces of his have been published since. There is also a book in quarto said to be his, entitled, *A useful Case of Conscience*, learnedly and acutely discussed and resolved, concerning associations and confederacies with idolaters, heretics, malignants, &c. first printed in 1693, which was like to have had some influence at that time upon King William's soldiers while in Flanders, which made him suppress it, and raise a prosecution against Mr. James Kid, for publishing the same at Utrecht, in the Netherlands.

ANDREW GRAY.

By the calculation of his age and the date of his entrance into the ministry, Mr. Gray seems to have been born about the year 1634; and being very early sent to school, he learned so fast, that in a short time he was ready for the university, and there, by the vivacity of his parts and great genius, he made such proficiency, both in scholastic learning and divinity, that before he was twenty years of age, he was found prepared to enter upon the holy office of the ministry.

From his very infancy he had studied the scriptures; and like another young Samson, the Spirit of God began very early to move him, there being such a delightful gravity in his early conversation, that what Gregory Nazianzen once said of the great Basil, might well be applied to him,—“That he held forth learning beyond his age, and fixedness of manners beyond his learning.”

As an earthly vessel, being thus filled with heavenly treasure, he was quickly licensed to preach, and received a call to be minister of the Outer High Church of Glasgow, though as yet scarcely twenty, and therefore far below the age appointed by the constitution of the Church, unless in extraordinary cases.

of his day, with the exception, perhaps, of Archbishop Leighton. The plan and limits of this work will not allow us to give extracts from his writings, in support of this statement, but the reader who is curious on the subject, will find some excellent specimens annexed to a very judicious Memoir of his Life in the *Christian Instructor* for July 1822.

No sooner was he entered into his Master's vineyard, than the people from all quarters flocked to his sermons, it being their constant emulation who should be most under the refreshing drops of his ministry; insomuch, that, as he and his learned colleague, Mr. Durham, were one time walking together in the choir, Mr. Durham, observing the multitude thronging into the church where Mr. Gray was to preach, and only a few going into the church where he was to preach, said to him, "Brother, I perceive you are to have a throng church to-day."—To which he answered, "Truly, brother, they are fools to leave you and come to me."—Mr. Durham replied, "Not so, dear brother, for none can receive such honour and success in his ministry, except it be given him from heaven. I rejoice that Christ is preached, and that his kingdom and interest is getting ground; for I am content to be any thing, or nothing, that Christ may be all in all."

And indeed Mr. Gray had a notable and singular gift in preaching, having much experience in the most mysterious points of Christian practice and profession; and in handling of all his subjects, being free from youthful vanity, and affectation of human learning, though of a most scholastic genius, and more than ordinary abilities. Indeed he fairly outstripped many who had entered the Lord's vineyard before him. His expression was very warm and rapturous, and well adapted to affect the hearts of his hearers; yea, he had such a faculty, and was so helped to press home God's threatenings upon the conscience of his hearers, that his contemporary, the aforesaid Mr. Durham, observed, that many times he caused the very hairs of their heads to stand on end.

Among his other excellencies in preaching, which were many, this was none of the least, that he could so discuss his subject as to make it relish to every palate. He could so dress a plain discourse as to delight a learned audience, and at the same time preach with a learned plainness so as to conceal his art. He had such a clear notion of the high mysteries of religion, as to make them stoop to the meanest capacity. He had so learned Christ, that being a man of a most zealous temper, the great bent of his spirit, and the great aim of his life, was to make people know their dangerous state by nature, and to persuade them to believe, and lay hold of the great salvation.

All these particulars seem to have concurred to make him a burning and shining light in the Church of God. He continued, however, for about two years* only, the spirit of the Lord as it were stirring up a lamp into a sudden blaze, that was not to remain long in his Church. In reference to this, in a late preface to some of his sermons it is very pertinently observed,—“how awakening, convincing, and reprov-

* According to the date of his exhortations at Kirkliston, June 12, 1653, and his letter to Lord Warriston, when on his deathbed, affixed to his select sermons, dated Feb. 7, 1656, it would appear, if both be authentic, that he was at least two years and a half in the ministry.

ing, may the example of this very young minister be to many ministers of the gospel, who have been many years in the vineyard, but fall far short of his labours and progress! God thinks fit now and then to raise up a child to reprove the sloth and negligence of many thousands of advanced years: and shows, that he can perfect his own praise out of the mouths of babes and sucklings."

His sermons are now in print, and well known in the world. His works do praise him in the gates; and though they are free from the metaphysical speculations of the schools, yet it must be granted that the excellencies of the ancient fathers and schoolmen do all **concentre** in them: For his doctrine carries light, his reproofs are weighty, and his exhortations powerful: and though they are not in such an accurate or grammatical style as some may wish, yet this may be easily accounted for, if we consider, (1.) The great alteration and embellishment in the style of the English language since his time, and (2.) That there can be no ground to doubt but they must be far inferior to what they were when delivered by the author, who neither corrected them, nor as appears, intended that they should ever be published: But yet all this is sufficiently made up otherwise; for what is wanting in the symmetry of parts or correctness of style, is counterbalanced by the pleasure of variety and excellence in the truths, which, like the grateful odours of various flowers, or the pleasant harmony of different sounds, they every where discover.

It has been said, that Mr. Gray often longed for the twenty-second year of his age, wherein he expected to rest from his labours, and by a perpetual jubilee, to enjoy his blessed Lord and Master for ever. And certain it is, that in his sermons we often find him longing for the time when he might enter into the possession of the heavenly inheritance, prepared for him before the foundations of the world were laid.

On one occasion he escaped death very narrowly, when sailing to Dundee, in company with Mr. Robert Fleming, minister of Cambuslang; and this remarkable sea-deliverance was matter of his thankfulness to God, all his life after.

There is one thing that may be desiderated by the inquisitive, namely, what Mr. Gray's sentiments were, concerning the public resolutions, seeing he entered the ministry about the third year after these resolutions took place. Whatever his contentions in public were, it is credibly reported, that he debated in private against these defections with his learned colleague Mr. Durham; who afterwards asked him, when on his deathbed, What he thought of these things?—He answered, That he was of the same mind as formerly—and regretted much that he had been so sparing in public against these resolutions, speaking so pathetically of their sinfulness, and the calamities they must induce, that Mr. Durham, contrary to his former practice, durst never after speak in defence of them.

But the time now approaching when the Lord was about to accomplish the desire of his servant, he fell sick, and was in a high fever for several days. He was much tossed with the severe and

unremitting trouble, but all the time continued in a most sedate frame of mind.

It is a loss that his last dying words were neither recorded nor remembered; only we may guess what his spiritual exercises were, from the short but excellent letter sent by him, a little before his death, to Lord Warriston, bearing date February 7, 1656: wherein he shows, that he not only had a more clear discovery of the toleration then granted by Cromwell, and the evils that would come upon the country for all these things, but also that he was most sensible of his own case and condition. This more especially appears from the conclusion of the letter, where he addresses his Lordship thus: "Now, not to trouble your Lordship, whom I highly reverence, and my soul was knit to you in the Lord, but that you will bespeak my case to the great Master of requests, and lay my broken state before him who hath pled the desperate case of many, according to the sweet word in Lam. iii. 56. *Thou hast heard my voice; hide not thine ear at my breathing, at my cry.* This is all at this time from one in a very weak condition, in a great fever, who, for much of seven nights, hath slept little at all, with many other sad particulars and circumstances."

Thus, in a short time according to his desire, it was granted to him, by death, to pass unto the Author of life, his soul taking its flight into the arms of the blessed Saviour, whom he had served so faithfully in his day and generation, being only twenty-two years old. He shone too conspicuous to continue long, and burned so intensely, that he behoved soon to be extinguished; but he now shines in the kingdom of his Father, in a still more refulgent manner, even as the brightness of the firmament and the stars, for ever and ever.

He was in his day a most singular and pious youth; and though he died young, yet was old in grace, having lived long and done much for God in a little time. Both in public and private life, he possessed in a high degree every domestic and social virtue that could adorn the character of a Christian and a minister, being a loving husband,* an affable friend, ever cheerful and agreeable in conversation, always ready to exert himself for the relief of those who asked and stood in the need of assistance; whilst his uncommon talents not only endeared him to his brethren the clergy, but also to many others from the one extremity of the land to the other who regarded and esteemed him as one of the most able advocates for the propagation and advancement of Christ's kingdom.

His well known sermons are printed in several tracts. Those called his works are published in one volume octavo. In addition to the eleven sermons printed sometime ago, are lately published a large collection, to the number of fifty-one, entitled his Select Ser-

* It appears that Mr. Gray was for a short time married to a worthy young gentlewoman, who afterwards became the wife of Mr. George Hutcheson, some time minister of the gospel at Irvine.

mons ; in which only three of those formerly published for connection sake, and his letter to Lord Warriston, are inserted. So that by this time, most, if not all, of the sermons ever preached by him are in print.

JAMES DURHAM.

MR. JAMES DURHAM was born about the year 1622, and lineally descended from the ancient and honourable family of Grange Durham, in the parish of Monyfeith and shire of Angus. He was the eldest son of John Durham of Easter Powrie, Esq. an estate which is now called Wedderburn, after the gentleman's name who is its present proprietor.

Having passed through the different branches of useful learning with success and applause, he left the university before he was graduate, and for some time lived as a private gentleman upon his estate in the country, without any thought of farther prosecuting his studies, especially for the ministry : and though always decent and moral in his life, both in the university and when he left it, yet he was much a stranger to religion in the serious exercise and power of it ; and, through the prejudices of education, did not stand well affected to the presbyterian government. He was first married to a daughter of the Laird of Dantervie : who with her mother were both very pious women.

His conversion to the Lord was very remarkable. For, going with his lady to visit her mother in the parish of Abercorn, some miles west of Edinburgh, it happened, that at that time the sacrament was administered in the parish. Upon the Saturday, therefore, his mother-in-law earnestly pressed them to go with her to church and hear sermon : to which at first he showed much unwillingness ; but, partly by her persuasion, and that of his wife, and partly from his complaisant disposition, he consented and went along with them. The minister who preached on the occasion, was extremely affectionate and serious in his delivery ; and though the sermon was plain in itself, yet his seriousness of manner fixed Mr. Durham's attention, and he felt much affected. When he came home he said to his mother-in-law, " the minister hath preached very seriously to day, I shall not need to be pressed to go to church to-morrow." Accordingly on Sabbath morning, rising early, he went to church, and heard Mr. Melvill preach from 1 Pet. ii. 7. *Unto you therefore which believe he is precious*, &c. and so sweetly and seriously did he open up the preciousness of Christ, and so effectually did the Spirit of God work upon his soul, that in hearing this sermon, he first closed with the Saviour, and then went to the Lord's table and took the seal of God's covenant. After this he ordinarily called Mr. Melvill father, when he spoke of him.

Afterwards he made serious religion his business, in secret, in his family, and in all places and companies where he came, and cordially embraced the interest of Christ and his Church, as then established. He also gave himself much up to reading and meditation; for which purpose that he might be free of all disturbance, he caused a study to be built for himself: and in this little chamber, became so close a student that he often forgot the time of meals, being sometimes so intent, that servants who were sent to call him often returned without answer; yea, that even his wife frequently called to him with tears before he would come. In this place, also, he enjoyed much sweet communion with the Lord.

He made great progress in his studies; and not only became an experimental Christian, but also a very learned man. One evidence of this he gave in a short dispute with one of the then ministers of Dundee, while he happened to be in that town. In a house where he visited occasionally, he met with the parson of the parish, (for so the ministers were then called,) to whom he was unknown. After some discourse, he fell upon the Popish controversy with him, and so put him to silence, that he could not answer a word, but left the room and went to the provost, craving his assistance to apprehend Mr. Durham as a Jesuit, assuring him, that if ever there was a Jesuit in Rome, he was one, and that if he were suffered to remain in the town or country, he might pervert many from the faith. Upon this the provost going along with him to the house where the pretended Jesuit was, and entering the room, immediately knew Mr. Durham, and saluting him as Laird of Easter Powrie, craved his pardon for their mistake; and turning to the parson, asked where the person was he called the Jesuit?—Mr. Durham smiled, and the parson, ashamed, asked pardon of them both; and was rebuked by the provost, who said, “Fy, fy! that any country gentleman should be able to put our parson thus to silence!”

He was a man of great integrity, and much respected in the country and neighbourhood in which he lived, in so much that he was frequently chosen judge or referee in the differences and disputes which happened within his sphere; all parties readily and quietly submitting to his decision. In this respect, the language of Job might well be applied to him. “Unto him men gave ear, and waited, and kept silence at his counsel. After his words they spake not again; and his speech dropped upon them.”

During the civil wars, he took arms, with many others of the gentlemen, for the cause of religion, and was chosen captain of a company. In this situation he might be esteemed another Cornelius, being a most devout man, and one who not only feared God with all his house, but even prayed with his company, and seriously exhorted them as to the interests of their souls.

The circumstance of his call and coming forth to the ministry were somewhat singular. When the Scots army were about to engage with the English, he judged meet to call his company to prayer before the engagement; and as he began, Mr. David Dickson, then professor of divinity at Glasgow, coming past the army, seeing the

soldiers addressing themselves to prayer, and hearing the voice of one praying, drew near, alighted from his horse, and joined with them; and was so much taken with Mr. Durham's prayer, that he immediately after called him, and having conversed with him a little, solemnly charged him, that as soon as this piece of service was over he should devote himself to the ministry; for that he judged the Lord called him to this. But though, as yet, he had no clear grounds for hearkening to Mr. Dickson's advice, yet two remarkable providences falling out just upon the back of this solemn charge, he was shortly after induced to comply with it.—The first was, that in the engagement, his horse was shot under him, and he was mercifully preserved; the second, that in the heat of the battle, an English soldier was on the point of striking him down with his sword; but apprehending him to be a minister by his grave carriage, black cloth and band, which was then in fashion with gentlemen, asked him, if he was a priest? To which Mr. Durham replied, I am one of God's priests;—and so his life was spared. Mr. Durham upon reflecting how wonderfully the Lord had thus saved him, and that his stating himself to be a priest had been the mean thereof, resolved, as a testimony of his grateful and thankful sense of the Lord's goodness to him, henceforth to devote himself to His service in the holy ministry, if He should see meet to qualify him for the same.

Accordingly, in pursuance of this resolution, he shortly after went to Glasgow, studied divinity under Mr. David Dickson, then professor there; and made such proficiency, that in a short time, being called thereto, he offered himself for trials in 1646, and was licensed by the presbytery of Irvine to preach the gospel. Next year, upon Mr. Dickson's recommendation, the session of Glasgow directed Mr. Ramsay, one of the ministers, to request Mr. Durham to come and preach. Accordingly he came, and preached two Sabbath days and one week day. And the session being fully satisfied with his doctrine, and the gifts bestowed on him by the Lord for serving Him in the ministry, did unanimously call him to the ministry of the Blackfriars' church, then vacant; in consequence of which, he was ordained a minister in November 1647.

He applied himself to the work of the ministry with great diligence, so that his profiting did quickly appear to all; but, considering that no man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life, he obtained leave to return to his own country, to settle his worldly affairs; yet while here he was not idle, but preached every Sabbath. He first preached at Dundee, before a great multitude, from Rom. i. 16. *I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ*; showing that it was no disparagement to the greatest to be a gospel minister; the second time, he preached at Ferling, upon 2 Cor. v. 18. *Hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation, &c.*; and the third time at Monyfeith, at the desire of the minister there, from 2 Cor. v. 20. *We then are ambassadors of Christ, &c.* In both of these places, he in deed acted like an ambassador for Christ, and managed the gospel treaty of peace to good purpose. The next Sabbath he

designed to have preached at Montrose; but receiving an express to return home, his wife being dangerously ill, he came to Glasgow, (leaving his affairs to the care of his friends,) where in a few days, his wife, who had been the desire of his eyes, died. His Christian submission under this afflicting dispensation was most remarkable. After a short silence, he said to some about him, "Now, who could persuade me that this dispensation of God's providence was good for me, if the Lord had not said it was so?" He was afterwards married to Margaret Muir, relict of Mr. Zeckariah Boyd, minister of the Barony church of Glasgow.

In 1650, Mr. Dickson, professor of divinity, being called to the same office in the university of Edinburgh, the commissioners of the General Assembly authorized for visiting the university of Glasgow, unanimously designed and invited Mr. Durham to succeed him. But before he was admitted to that charge, the General Assembly being persuaded of his eminent piety, steadfastness, prudence, and moderation, did, after mature deliberation, that same year, pitch upon him, though then but about twenty-eight years of age, as among the ablest and best accomplished ministers then in the Church, to attend the King's family as chaplain. In this situation, though the times were most difficult, as abounding with snares and temptations, jealousies and animosities, he so wisely and faithfully acquitted himself, that there was a conviction of his good conduct left upon the consciences of all who observed him. Yea, during his stay at Court, and whenever he went about the duty of his place, all were constrained to behave gravely, and to forbear all lightness and profanity, and none dared to do any thing offensive before him. So that while he served the Lord in the holy ministry, and particularly in the office and character of the King's chaplain, his ambition was to have God's favour rather than that of great men, and he studied more to profit and edify their souls, than to tickle their fancies, as some *court-varasites in their sermons do*: an instance of which may be here given. Being called to preach before the parliament, where many magistrates were present, he preached from John iii. 10. *Art thou a master in Israel, and knowest not these things?* from which words he chiefly insisted, that it was a most extraordinary thing for rulers and nobles in Israel, to be ignorant of the great and important matters of religion, and did most seriously press all from the King to the beggar, to seek and know these things experimentally. A good pattern for all court chaplains, and those who are called to preach on the like public occasions.

He continued in the office till the King went to England, and shortly after returned to his professional labours. Towards the end of January, 1651, the common session of Glasgow appointed Mr. Gillespie to write a letter to him, stating that Mr. Ramsay was officiating as professor of divinity in his place. And in consequence of this and a letter from the Magistrates, pressing his return to his charge as minister, Mr. Durham came to Glasgow: and is mentioned as present at the session in the beginning of April thereafter. At the same time, Cromwell with his army being in Glas-

gow, went on the Lord's day to hear him preach, when Mr. Durham openly testified against his invasion to his face. Next day Cromwell sent for him, and said, he always thought he had been a wiser man than to meddle with matters of public concern in his sermons.—To which Mr. Durham answered, it was not his practice, but that he judged it both wisdom and prudence to speak his mind on that head seeing he had the opportunity to do it in his presence. —Cromwell dismissed him very civilly, but desired him to forbear insisting on that subject in future.

It would appear, that Mr. Durham, for some time after this had withdrawn from Glasgow, and therefore a letter was in August after, ordered to be sent to him, to come thither and preach; and in September following, there being a vacancy in the Inner High Church by the death of Mr. Ramsay, the common session gave him a unanimous call, with which the town-council agreed, to be minister there. Accordingly, shortly after this, he was received as minister of that church, Mr. John Carstairs, his brother-in-law, being his colleague in the charge.

During the whole of his ministry he was a burning and shining light, and he was particularly distinguished for humility and self-denial. For an instance of these traits of his character, the reader is referred to an anecdote already related in the life of Mr. Gray.*

He was also a person of the utmost gravity of manner, and seldom was seen even to smile. Once being at dinner in a gentleman's house with Mr. William Guthrie, the latter being exceedingly merry, made him smile, yea laugh at his pleasant and facetious conversation; and it being the custom of the family to pray after dinner, and Mr. Guthrie, upon being desired, performing that duty with the greatest measure of seriousness and fervour, Mr. Durham, when they arose from prayer, embraced him, and said, "O William, you are a happy man, if I had been so merry as you have been, I could not have been in such a serious frame for prayer for the space of forty-eight hours."

Mr. Durham, though devout in all parts of his ministerial work, was especially so upon communion occasions. Then he endeavoured, through grace, to rouse and work himself up to such a divineness of frame, as is suitable to the spiritual nature and high importance of the ordinance of the supper. Yea, upon some of these sweet and solemn occasions, he spoke as it were like a man who had been in heaven, commending Jesus Christ, making a glorious display of his free grace, and bringing the offers thereof so low, and pressing them so urgently, especially in a discourse from Matt. xxii. 4. that it was a wonder to sinners themselves how they could refuse to close with them. He gave himself much up to meditation, and usually said little to persons that came to propose their cases to him, but heard them patiently, and was sure to handle these cases in his sermons.

His healing disposition, and great moderation of spirit, appeared

* See page 207.

remarkably at the period when the Church was grievously divided betwixt the revolutioners and protesters : and as he would never give his judgment on either side, he used to say, That division was far worse than either of the sides. He was equally respected by both parties ; for at the meeting of the synod at Glasgow, when those of the different sides met separately, each of them made choice of Mr. Durham for their moderator ; but he refused to join either of them, till they would unite together : which they accordingly did. At this meeting he gave in some overtures for peace,* the substance of which was, that they should eschew all public awakening, or protracting the difference, by preaching or spreading of papers on either side, and that they should forbear practising, executing, or pressing of acts made in the last Assembly at St. Andrews and Dundee, and also pressing or spreading appeals, or declinatures, against the same, and that no church-officers should be excepted against, on account of these things, they being found otherwise qualified.

So weighty was the ministerial charge upon his spirit, that he used to say, if he were to live ten years longer, he would choose to live nine years in study, for preaching the tenth ; and it was thought that his close study and application cast him into the decay of which he died. During his last sickness, about a month before his death, the better part being afraid that the magistrates, and some of the ministry who were for the public resolutions, would put in one of their own stamp after his death, moved Mr. Carstairs, his colleague, to request him to name his successor ; when, after some demur, enjoining secrecy till it was nearer his death, he named Mr. David Veitch, then minister of Govan ; but afterwards, when dying, to the magistrates, ministers, and some of the people who waited on him, he named other three, to take any of them they pleased.— This alteration led Mr. Carstairs to inquire the reason, after the rest were gone ; to whom Mr. Durham in reply, said, “ O brother, Mr. Veitch is too ripe for heaven to be transported to any church on earth ; he will be there almost as soon as I.” This proved to be the case, for Mr. Durham having died the Friday after : the next Sabbath Mr. Veitch preached ; and though knowing nothing of this, told the people in the afternoon, it would be his last sermon to them ; and the same night taking bed, he died next Friday morning about three o'clock, as Dr. Rattray,† who was witness to both their deaths, did declare.

When on his deathbed, Mr. Durham was under considerable darkness about his state, and said to Mr. John Carstairs' brother, “ For all that I have preached or written, there is but one scripture I can remember or dare grip unto ; tell me if I dare lay the weight of my salvation upon it : *whosoever cometh unto me, I will in no wise*

* See these overtures at large in the account of his life, prefixed to his Commentary on the Revelation.

† Dr. Silvester Rattray, a Physician of some eminence, at the time, in Glasgow.

cast out." Mr. Carstairs answered, "You may depend upon it, though you had a thousand salvations at hazard." When he was drawing near his departure, and in a great conflict and agony, though finding some difficulty, yet, through the strength of God's grace, he triumphantly overcame; and cried in a rapture of holy joy, some little time before he committed his soul to God, "Is not the Lord good? Is he not infinitely good? See how he smiles! I do say it, and I do proclaim it." He died on Friday the 25th of June 1658, in the thirty-sixth year of his age.—His death was the more to be lamented that he was as yet in the flower of his age, and in the undisturbed enjoyment of his vigorous mind, and his high attainments.

Thus then, died, the eminently pious, learned, and judicious Mr. Durham, whose labours had always aimed at the advancement of religion, and whose praise is throughout all the churches both at home and abroad. He was a burning and a shining light, a star of the first magnitude, and of whom it is said, without derogating from the merit of any, that he *had a name among the mighty.*

His colleague, Mr. John Carstairs, in his funeral sermon, from Isa. lvii. 1. *The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart; and merciful men are taken away, none considering that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come,* gives him this character:—"Know ye not that there is a prince among the pastors fallen to-day! a faithful and wise steward, that knew well how to give God's children their food in due season, a gentle and kind nurse, a faithful admonisher and reprove, a skilful counsellor in all straits and difficulties; in dark matters he was eyes to the blind, feet to the lame, a burning and shining light in the dark world, an interpreter of the word, one among a thousand; to him men gave ear, and after his words no man spake again." And not only in town but also in the country, did his brethren in the presbytery allude to his death, and in particular, Mr. Veitch, whose death he had foretold was forward amongst others to pay a tribute of respect to his character.

His learned and pious works, wherein all the excellencies of the primitive and ancient fathers seem to concentrate, are, a Commentary on the Revelation; seventy-two Sermons on the fifty-third chapter of the Prophecy of Isaiah, an Exposition of the Ten Commandments, an Exposition of the Song of Solomon: his Sermons on death; on the Unsearchable Riches of Christ; his Communion Sermons; Sermons on Godliness and Self-denial; a Sermon on a Good Conscience. There are also a great many of his sermons in manuscript, never yet published, viz. three sermons upon resisting the Holy Ghost, from Acts vii. 51.; eight on quenching the Spirit; five upon grieving the Spirit; thirteen upon trusting and delighting in God; two against immoderate anxiety; eight upon the One Thing needful; with a discourse upon prayer; and several other Sermons and Discourses, from Eph. v. 15. 1 Cor. xi. 24. Luke 1. 6. Gal. v. 16. Psal. cxix. 67. 1 Thess. v. 19. 1 Pet. iii. 14. Matth. viii. 7. There is also a Treatise on Scandal, and an Exposition, by way of Lecture upon Job, said to be his, but whether these, either as to

style or strain, cohere with the other Works of the laborious Mr Durham, must be left to the impartial and unbiassed reader, to determine.

SAMUEL RUTHERFORD.

THIS highly experienced Christian and excellent divine, was a gentleman by extraction, and having spent some time at the grammar-school, he went to the university of Edinburgh, where he was so much admired for his pregnancy of parts, that in a short time after, whilst very young, he was elected professor of philosophy in that university.

Some time after this he was called to be minister at Anwoth, in Galloway, into which charge he entered by means of the then Viscount Kenmuir, and without any acknowledgment or engagement to the bishops. Here he laboured with great diligence and success, by night and day, rising usually by three o'clock in the morning, and spending his whole time in reading, praying, writing, catechising, visiting, and other duties belonging to the ministerial profession and employment. Having published his *Exercitationes de Gratia*, &c. he was on account of that work summoned as early as June 1630, before the High Commission Court at Edinburgh; but the weather was so tempestuous as to obstruct the passage of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's hither, and Mr. Colvill, one of the judges, having befriended him, the diet was deserted. About the same time he lost his first wife, after a sore sickness of thirteen months and he himself became so ill of a tertian fever, that for about thirteen weeks, he could not preach on the Sabbath-day, without great difficulty.

Again, in April 1634, he was threatened with a prosecution at the instance of the bishop of Galloway, before the same Court; and neither were these threatenings all the reasons Mr. Rutherford had to lay his account with suffering as about to come; for as the Lord would not hide from his faithful servant Abraham, so neither would he conceal from this son of Abraham what his purposes were concerning him. For in a letter to the provost's wife of Kirkcudbright, dated April 20, 1633, he says, "That upon the 17th and 18th of August, he got a full answer of his Lord to be a graced minister, and a chosen arrow hid in his quiver."* Accordingly the thing he looked for came upon him; for he was again summoned before the High Commission Court for his non-conformity, his preaching against the five articles of Perth, and the fore-mentioned book *Exercitationes Apologetice pro Divina Gratia*, which book they alleged reflected

* See his letters, part iii.

upon the church of Scotland; but the truth was, as a late historian has remarked,* the argument of that book did cut the sinews of Arminianism, and galled the Episcopal clergy to the very quick; and so Bishop Sydesert could endure him no longer.† When he came before the Court, he altogether declined them as a lawful judicatory, and would not give the chancellor (being a clergyman) and the bishops their titles; yet some had the courage to befriend him, particularly the Lord Lorn, afterwards the famous Marquis of Argyle, who favoured him as much as it was in his power to do. But the Bishop of Galloway threatening that if he got not his will of him, he would write to the king, it was ultimately carried against him; and upon the 27th of July 1636, he was discharged from exercising any part of his ministerial functions within the kingdom, under pain of rebellion; and ordered within six months to confine himself within the city of Aberdeen, during the king's pleasure; which sentence he obeyed, and forthwith went to the place of his confinement.

From Aberdeen he wrote many of his famous letters, from which it is evident that the consolations of the Holy Spirit did greatly abound to him in his sufferings; yea, in one of these letters, he expresses it in the strongest terms, when he says, "I never knew before, that His love was in such a measure. If he leave me, he leaves me in pain, and sick of love, and yet my sickness is my life and health. I have a fire within me I defy all the devils in hell, and all the prelates in Scotland, to cast water on it." Here he remained upwards of a year and a half, by which time he made the doctors of Aberdeen know, that the Puritans, as they called them, were clergymen as well as they. But upon notice that the Privy Council had received a declinature against the High Commission Court; in the year 1638, he adventured to return to his flock at Anwoth, where he again took great pains, both in public and private, amongst the people, who from all quarters resorted to his ministry; so much so, that the whole district might account themselves as his particular flock, and found no small benefit from his preaching; that part of ancient prophecy then and there farther accomplished: *In the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert.*‡

He appeared before the venerable Assembly held at Glasgow in 1638, and gave an account of all these his former proceedings, his confinement, and its causes. By this Assembly he was appointed professor of divinity at St. Andrew's and colleague in the ministry to the worthy Mr. Blair, who was translated thither about the same

* See Stevenson's History, vol. I. p. 149. Rowe's History, p. 295.

† From this period downward, Episcopacy and Arminianism were almost inseparable in Scotland. Archbishop Leighton, of Glasgow, and one or two more, were exceptions; but such was the prevailing system, as, indeed, it had been in England, from the time that Laud, in the reign of James I. began to gain ascendancy. On the other hand, the Presbyterians, with few exceptions, I may say; the suffering ones, without any exception, were substantially Calvinists. W. M'C.

‡ Isa. xxxv. 6.

time. And here God did again so second this eminent and faithful servant, that by his indefatigable pains, both in teaching the class and preaching in the congregation, this town the seat of the Archbishop, and by that means the nursery of all superstition, error, and profaneness, soon became forthwith a Lebanon, out of which were taken cedars, for building the house of the Lord, through the whole land, many of whom he guided to heaven before himself, and many others did walk in the light of the gospel after him.

And as he was mighty in the public offices of religion, so he was a greater practiser and encourager of its private duties. Thus in the year 1640, when a charge was brought in before the General Assembly, at the instance of Mr. Henry Guthrie, minister at Stirling, afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld, against private society meetings, which were then abounding in the land, on which ensued much reasoning, the one side agreeing that a paper before drawn up by Mr. Henderson should be agreed unto, concerning the order to be kept in these meetings, but, Guthrie and his adherents opposing this, Mr. Rutherford, who was never much disposed to speak in judicatories, threw in this syllogism, "What the scriptures do warrant, no assembly may discharge; but *private* meetings for religious exercises, the scriptures do warrant, Mat. iii. 16. *Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another, &c. James, v. 16, Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another*: things, he observed, which could not be done in *public* meetings." And although the Earl of Seaforth, and others of Guthrie's faction, upbraided him for this, yet it had influence upon the majority of the members; so that all the opposite party could procure, was an act anent the ordering of family worship.

He was also one of the Scots commissioners appointed in 1643, to the Westminster Assembly, and was very much beloved there for his unparalleled faithfulness and zeal in fulfilling his Master's work. It was during this period that he published his *Lex Rex*, and several other learned pieces, against the Erastians, Anabaptists, Independents, and the other sectaries, which then began to prevail and increase; and none ever had the courage to take up the gauntlet of defiance thrown down by this champion.*

* It is reported, that when King Charles saw *Lex Rex*, he said, it would scarcely ever get an answer, nor did it ever get any, except what the parliament in 1661 gave it, when they caused it to be burnt at the cross of Edinburgh, by the hands of the hangman. This was a summary way of answering a book; and it was somewhat more innocent than the popish practice of burning the authors of books against popery. Charles' parliament, by the hangman's hands, burnt the body of the book, but they could not consume its immortal spirit, with which the minds of the patriots of that age were deeply imbued, which they communicated to their children, and which ultimately produced the Revolution, and the establishment of liberty, under King William, and the house of Hanover. Claud's Defence of the Reformation was condemned by the Pope to be burnt, on which the author of an old edition very properly observes,—“Books have souls as well as men, which survive their martyrdom, and are not burnt but crowned by the flames that encircle them. The church of Rome have quickly felt that there was

When the principal business of that Assembly was accomplished, Mr. Rutherford, in October 24, 1647, moved, that it might be recorded in the clerk's book, that the Assembly had enjoyed the assistance of the commissioners of the Church of Scotland, all the time they had been debating and perfecting these four things mentioned in the solemn league, viz. a Directory for Worship, a uniform Confession of Faith, a Form of Church Government and Discipline, and the public Catechism; which being done, he and the others, in about a week after, returned home.

Upon the death of the learned Dematius, in 1651, the magistrates of Utrecht in Holland, being abundantly satisfied as to the learning, piety, and zeal of the great Mr. Rutherford, invited him to the divinity chair in that city, but he could not be persuaded to go thither. His reasons when dissuading another gentleman from going abroad, he has expressed in these words. "Let me entreat you to be far from the thoughts of leaving this land. I see it, and find it, that the Lord hath covered the whole land with a cloud in his anger; but though I have been tempted to the like, I had rather be in Scotland beside angry Jesus Christ, knowing he mindeth no evil to us, than in any Eden or garden on the earth."* From this it is evident, that he chose rather to suffer affliction in his native country, than to leave his charge and flock in time of danger. He continued with them till the day of his death, in the free and faithful discharge of his duty.

When the unhappy difference fell out between those called the protesters and the public resolutioners, in 1650 and 1651, he espoused the protesters' quarrel, and gave faithful warning against these public resolutions; and likewise during the time of Cromwell's usurpation, he contended against all the prevailing schisms that were ushered in with the sectaries by virtue of his toleration.† And such was his unwearied assiduity and diligence, that he seemed to pray constantly, to preach constantly, to catechise constantly, and to visit the sick, exhorting them from house to house, to teach as much in the schools, and spend as much time with the students and young men in fitting them for the ministry, as if he had been sequestered from all the world besides; and yet withal to write as much as if he had been constantly shut up in his study.

But no sooner did the restoration of Charles II. take place, than the face of affairs began to change; and after his fore-mentioned

nothing combustible but the paper. The truth flew upward, like the angel from Manoah's sacrifice, untouched by the fire, and unsullied by the smoke, and found a safe refuge at the footstool of the God of truth." W. M'G.

* See his letter to Col. Gib Ker, part II. letter 59.

† Betwixt this toleration and that of the Duke of York, there was this difference; in this, all sects and religions were tolerated, except Popery and Prelacy; but in that of York not only these two were tolerated, but all others, except those who professed true Presbyterian covenanted principles. And as for Queen Anne's toleration it was nothing else than a reduplication upon this, to restore their beloved idol Prelacy again.

book *Lex Rex* was burnt at the cross of Edinburgh, and at the gates of the New College of St. Andrew's, where he was professor of divinity, the parliament, 1661, were to have an indictment laid before them against him; and such was their inhumanity, when every body knew he was a-dying, that they caused summon him to appear before them at Edinburgh, to answer to a charge of high treason!* But he had a higher tribunal to appear before, where the judge was his friend: he was dead before the time came, being taken away from the evil to come.

When on his deathbed, he lamented much that he was withheld from bearing witness to the work of reformation since the year 1638; and upon the 28th of February, he gave a large and faithful testimony † against the sinful courses of that time, which testimony he subscribed twelve days before his death, being full of joy and peace in believing.

During the time of his last sickness, he uttered many savoury speeches, and often broke out in a kind of sacred rapture, exalting and commending the Lord Jesus, especially when his end drew near. He often called his blessed Master his *kingly King*. Some days before his death, he said, "I shall shine, I shall see him as he is, I shall see him reign, and all his fair company with him; and I shall have my large share. Mine eyes shall see my Redeemer, these very eyes of mine, and none other for me. This may seem a wide word; but it is no fancy or delusion; it is true. Let my Lord's name be exalted, and, if he will, let my name be grinded to pieces, that he may be all in all. If he should slay me ten thousand times, I will trust." He often repeated Jer. xv. 16. *Thy words were found, and I did eat them; and thy word was unto me the joy and rejoicing of mine heart: for I am called by thy name, O Lord God of hosts.*

When exhorting one to diligence, he said, "It is no easy thing to be a Christian. For me I have got the victory, and Christ is holding out both his arms to embrace me." At another time, to some friends present, he said, "At the beginning of my sufferings I had mine own fears, like other sinful men, lest I should faint, and not be carried creditably through, and I laid this before the Lord; and as sure as ever he spoke to me in his word, as sure as his Spirit witnesseth to my heart, he hath accepted my sufferings. He said to me, fear not, the outgate shall not be simply matter of prayer, but

* It is commonly related, that when the summons came he spoke out of his bed, and said, Tell them I have got a summons already before a superior Judge and judicatory, and I behave to answer my first summons: and ere your day come I will be where few kings and great folks come. When they returned and told he was a-dying, the parliament put to a vote, Whether or not to let him die in the college. It carried, Put him out: only a few dissenting. My Lord Burleigh said, Ye have voted that honest man out of his college, but ye cannot vote him out of heaven. Some said he would never win there; hell was too good for him. Burleigh said, I wish I were as sure of heaven as he is, I would think myself happy to get a grip of his sleeve to haul me in. See *Walker's Rem.* p. 171.

† See his testimony and some of his last words published in 1713.

matter of praise. I said to the Lord, if he should slay me five thousand times five thousand, I would trust in him; and I speak it with much trembling, fearing I should not make my part good: but as really as ever he spoke to me by his Spirit, he witnessed to my heart, that his grace should be sufficient." Shortly before his death, being much grieved with the state of public affairs, he had this expression, "Horror hath taken hold on me." And afterwards in reference to his own condition, he said, "I renounce all that ever he made me will and do, as defiled and imperfect, as coming from me; I betake myself to Christ for sanctification, as well as justification;" Repeating these words, "*He is made of God to me wisdom, righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption:*"* adding, "I close with it, let him be so: he is my all in all."

On March 17th, three gentlewomen came to see him; and after exhorting them to read the word, and be much in prayer, and much in communion with God, he said, "My honourable Master and lovely Lord, my great royal King, hath not a match in heaven nor in earth. I have my own guilt, even like other simple men, but he hath pardoned, loved, washed, and given me joy unspeakable and full of glory. I repent not that ever I owned his cause. These whom you call protesters are the witnesses of Jesus Christ. I hope never to depart from that cause, nor side with those that have burnt the Causes of God's Wrath. They have broken their covenant oftener than once or twice, but I believe *the Lord will build Zion, and repair the waste places of Jacob*. Oh! to obtain mercy, to wrestle with God for their salvation. As for this presbytery, it hath stood in opposition to me these some years past. I have my record in heaven, I had no particular end in view; but was seeking the honour of God, the thriving of the gospel in this place, and the good of the New College, that Society which I have left upon the Lord. What personal wrongs they have done me, and what grief they have occasioned to me, I heartily forgive them; and desire mercy to wrestle with God for mercy to them, and for the salvation of them all."

The same day Messrs. James McGill, John Wardlaw, William Vilant, and Alexander Wedderburn, all members of the same presbytery with him, coming to visit him, he made them welcome, and said, "My Lord and Master is the chief of ten thousand, none is comparable to him in heaven or earth. Dear brethren, do all for him; pray for Christ, preach for Christ, feed the flock committed to your charge for Christ, do all for Christ; beware of men-pleasing, there is too much of it amongst us. The new College hath broken my heart; I can say nothing of it; I have left it upon the Lord of the house; and it hath been, and still is, my desire, that he may dwell in this society; and that the youth may be fed with sound knowledge." After this he said, "Dear Brethren, it may seem presumptuous in me, a particular man, to send a commission to a pres-

* 1 Cor. i. 30.

bytery; —and Mr. McGill replying, “It was no presumption,”—he continued,—“Dear brethren, take a commission from me, a dying man, to them to appear for God and his cause, and adhere to the doctrine of the covenant, and have a care of the flock committed to their charge. Let them feed the flock out of love; preach for God, visit and catechise for God; and do all for God; beware of men-pleasing; the chief Shepherd will appear shortly. I have been a sinful man and have had mine own failings; but my Lord hath pardoned me, and accepted my labours. I adhere to the cause and covenant, and resolve never to depart from the protestations * against the controverted Assemblies. I am the man I was. I am still for keeping the government of the kirk of Scotland entire; and would not for a thousand worlds, have had the least hand in the burning of the Causes of God’s Wrath. Oh! for grace to wrestle with God for their salvation.”

Mr. Vilant having prayed at his desire, as they took their leave he renewed his charge to them to feed the flock out of love. The next morning, as he recovered out of a faint, in which they who looked on expected his dissolution, he said, “I feel, I feel, I believe, I joy and rejoice, I feed on manna.” Mr. Blair, whose praise is in the churches, was present, and on his taking a little wine in a spoon to refresh himself, being then very weak, said to him, “Ye feed on dainties in heaven, and think nothing of our cordials on earth.”—He answered, “they are all but dung; but they are Christ’s creatures, and, out of obedience to his command, I take them. Mine eyes shall see my Redeemer; I know he shall stand at the last day upon the earth, and I shall be caught up in the clouds to meet him in the air, and I shall ever be with him; and what would you have more? there is an end.” And stretching out his hands, he said again, “there is an end.” And a little after, he said, “I have been a sinful man, but I stand at the best pass that ever a man did; Christ is mine, and I am his.” And he spoke much of the white stone and new name. Mr. Blair, who loved with all his heart to hear Christ commended, said to him again,—“What think ye now of Christ?”—To which he answered, “I shall live and adore him. Glory! glory to my Creator and Redeemer for ever! Glory shines in Immanuel’s land.” In the afternoon of that day, he said, “Oh! that all my brethren in the public may know what a Master I have served, and what peace I have this day. I shall sleep in Christ, and when I awake I shall be satisfied with his likeness. This night shall close the door, and put my anchor within the vail; and I shall go away in a sleep by five of the clock in the morning;” which exactly fell out. Though he was very weak, he had often this expression, “Oh! for arms to embrace him! Oh! for a well tuned harp!” He exhorted Dr. Colvil, a man who complied with prelacy

* This appears to be those papers bearing the name of representations, propositions, protestations, &c. given in by him and Messrs. Cant and Livingstone, to the ministers and elders met at Edinburgh, July 24, 1652.

afterwards, to adhere to the government of the Church of Scotland, and to the doctrine of the covenant; and to have a care to feed the youth with sound knowledge. And the Doctor, being a professor of the New College, he told him, that he heartily forgave him all the wrongs he had done him. He spake likewise to Mr. Honeyman, afterwards Bishop Honeyman, who came to see him, saying, "Tell the presbytery to answer for God, and his cause and covenant, saying, The case is desperate, let them be in their duty." Then directing his speech to Mr. Colvil and Mr. Honeyman, he said, "Stick to it. You may think it an easy thing in me a dying man, that I am now going out of the reach of all that men can do; but he before whom I stand knows I dare advise no colleague or brother to do what I would not cordially do myself upon all hazard; and as for the Causes of God's Wrath that men have now condemned, Tell Mr. James Wood, from me, that I had rather lay down my head on a scaffold, and have it chopped off many times, were it possible, before I had passed from them." And then, to Mr. Honeyman he said, "Tell Mr. Wood, I heartily forgive him all the wrongs he hath done me, and desire him, from me, to declare himself, that he is still for the government of the Church of Scotland."

Afterwards, when some spoke to him of his former painfulness and faithfulness in the ministry, he said, "I disclaim all that; the port that I would be at, is redemption and forgiveness through his blood; *thou shalt shew me the path of life, in thy sight is fulness of joy*: there is nothing now betwixt me and the resurrection, but, *to-day shalt thou be with me in paradise*." Mr. Blair saying, "Shall I praise the Lord for all the mercies he has done, and is to do for you!" he answered, "Oh for a well tuned harp." To his child * he said, "I have again left you upon the Lord; it may be you will tell this to others, that *the lines are fallen to me in pleasant places, I have got a goodly heritage*. I bless the Lord that he gave me counsel."

Accordingly, by five o'clock in the morning, as he himself foretold, it was said to him, "Come up hither;" and he gave up the ghost; the renowned eagle took its flight unto the mountains of spices.

In this manner died the famous Mr. Rutherford, who may justly be accounted among the sufferers of that time; for surely he was a martyr, both in his own design and resolution, and by the design and determination of men. Few men ever ran so long a race without cessation, so constantly, so unweariedly, and so unblameably. Two things rarely to be found in one man, were eminent in him, viz. a quick invention and sound judgment: and these accompanied with a homely but clear expression, and graceful elocution; so that such as knew him best, were in a strait whether to admire him most for his penetrating wit, and sublime genius in the schools, and peculiar exactness in disputes and matters of controversy, or his familiar

* It appears that he married a second wife, by whom he had only one child alive. See his Letters, part III. letter 55.

condescension in the pulpit, where he was one of the most moving and affectionate preachers of his time, or perhaps in any age of the church.—To sum up all in a word, he seems to have been one of the most resplendent lights that ever arose upon our horizon.

In all his writings he breathes forth the genuine spirit of religion; but in his every way admirable letters, he seems to have out-done himself, as well as every body else, which, although jested on by the profane wits of the present age, because of some homely and familiar expressions in them, must be owned, by all who have any relish for true piety, to contain such sublime flights of devotion, as must at once ravish and edify every sober, serious, and understanding reader.

Among his posthumous Works, are, his Letters; the Trial and Triumph of Faith; Christ's Dying and Drawing of Sinners, &c. and a discourse on Prayer; all in octavo. A Discourse on the Covenant; on Liberty of Conscience; a Survey of Spiritual Antichrist; a Survey of Antinomianism; Antichrist Stormed; and several other controversial pieces, such as *Lex Rex*; the Due Right of Church Government; the Divine Right of Church Government; and a Peaceable Plea for Presbytery; are for the most part in quarto; as also his Summary of Church Discipline, and a Treatise on the Divine Influence of the Spirit. There are also a variety of his sermons in print, some of which were preached before both houses of parliament, 1644 and 1645. He wrote also upon Providence; but this being in Latin, is only in the hands of a few; as are also the greater part of his other works, being seldom republished. There is also a volume of Sermons, Sacramental Discourses, &c.

An Epitaph on his Grave-stone.

What tongue, what pen or skill of men,
Can famous Rutherford commen'!
His learning justly rais'd his fame,
True goodness did adorn his name.
He did converse with things above,
Acquainted with Immanuel's love.
Most orthodox he was and sound,
And many errors did confound.
For Zion's King, and Zion's cause,
And Scotland's covenanted laws,
Most constantly he did contend,
Until his time was at an end.
At last he wan to full fruition
Of that which he had seen in vision.

OCT. 9, 1653.

W. W.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, MARQUIS OF ARGYLE.

THIS illustrious nobleman, after having received a good classical

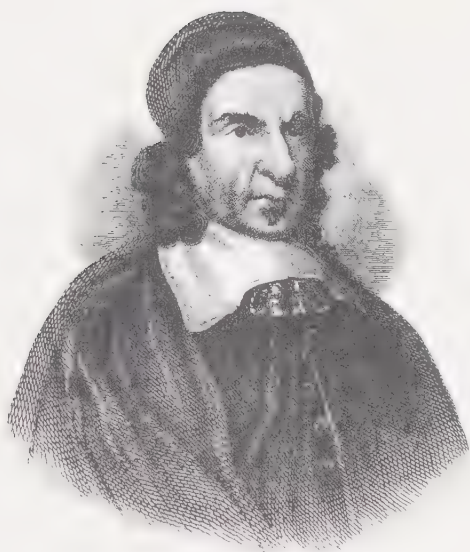
education, applied himself to the study of the holy scriptures, and became well acquainted with the most interesting points of religion; which he ever after retained and cultivated amidst the highest and most laborious employments, both in Church and State.

From his early years, he stood well affected to the Presbyterian interest; and being still a favourer of the Puritans (the Presbyterians being then so called,) when Mr. Rutherford was, for his non-conformity brought before the High Commission Court in 1636, he interposed, to the utmost, in his behalf. On this subject, Mr. Rutherford, in his letters,* says, "My Lord hath brought me a friend from the Highlands of Argyle, my Lord Lorn, who hath done as much as was within the compass of his power. God give me favour in his eyes." And elsewhere to the Lady Kenmuir, "And write thanks to your brother, my Lord of Lorn, for what he has done for me, a poor unknown stranger to him. I shall pray for him and his house while I live. It is his honour to open his mouth in the streets for his wronged and oppressed Master, Christ Jesus." Nor was this all: for about the same time, he so laboured and prevailed with the Bishop of Galloway, that worthy Earlston was released from the sentence of banishment, unto which he was assigned for the same noble cause.

And no sooner did our reformation, commonly called the *second reformation*, begin to dawn in 1637, than he espoused the same cause himself; for we find him next year, as Earl of Argyle, (his father dying about that time,) though a privy counsellor, diligently attending all the sessions of the famous General Assembly held at Glasgow, in order to hear their debates and determinations concerning diocesan Episcopacy, and the five articles of Perth, in reference to which he declared his full satisfaction with their decisions. And here it was that this noble Peer began to distinguish himself by a concern for the Redeemer's glory; in which he continued, and was kept faithful, until at last he received the crown of martyrdom!

At this meeting, amongst other things, his Lordship proposed an explication of the confession and covenant; in which he wished them to proceed with great deliberation, lest they should bring any under suspicion of perjury, who had sworn it in the sense he had done: which motion was taken in good part by the members, and entered upon in the 8th session of that Assembly. Mr. Henderson the moderator, at the conclusion of the Assembly, judging that, after all, the countenance given to their meetings by this Noble Peer deserved a particular acknowledgment, wished his Lordship had joined them sooner; but hoped that God had reserved him for the best times, and would honour him here and hereafter. Whereupon his Lordship rose and delivered an excellent speech *extempore*, in which, amongst other things, he said, "And whereas you wished I had joined you sooner, truly it was not the want of affection for the good of religion, and my country, which detained me, but a de-

* Part I. letter 4, and Part III. letter 37.



ARCHIBALD MARQUIS OF ARGYLE

sire and hope, that, by staying with the Court, I might have been able to bring a redress of grievances; and when I saw that I could no longer stay without proving unfaithful to my God and my country, I thought good to do as I have done. I remember I told some of you, that pride and avarice are two evils that have wrought much woe to the Church of Christ; and as they are grievous faults in any man, they are especially so in church-men, &c.—I hope every man here shall walk by the square and rule which is now set before him, observing duty, 1. To superiors; 2. To equals; and, 3. To inferiors. Touching our duty to superiors, there needs nothing to be added to what has been wisely said by the moderator. Next, concerning equals, here is a case much spoken of in the church, i. e. the power of ruling elders, some ministers apprehending it to be curbing of their power. Truly it may be some elders are not so wise as there is need for, but as unity ought to be the endeavour of us all, let neighbouring parishes and presbyteries meet together for settling this. And, thirdly, for inferiors, I hope ministers will discharge their duty to their flocks, and that people will have a due regard to those that are set over them to watch for their souls, and not think, that because they want Bishops, they may live as they will."*

After this, when the Scots covenanters were obliged to take arms in their own defence, in 1639, and marched towards the borders of England, under the command of General Leslie, this Noble Lord being sent to guard the western coast, contributed much, by his diligence and prudence to preserve peace in these parts; and that not only in convening the gentlemen, and taking security of them for that purpose, but also by raising four hundred men in the shire of Argyle, which he took in hand to maintain at his own charges. This number he afterwards increased to nine hundred able men, one half whereof he set on Kintyre, to wait on the Marquis of Antrim's design, and the rest on the head of Lorn, to attend the motions of those of Lochaber, and the western isles. From thence he himself went over to Arran with some cannon, and took the castle of Brodick, belonging to Hamilton; which surrendered without resistance.

He was again, in the absence of the covenanters' army, in 1640, appointed to the same business; and managed it with no less success; for he apprehended no less than eight or nine of the ring-leaders of the malignant faction, and made them give bonds for their better behaviour in time coming. This industrious and faithful conduct stirred up to this great man, the malice of his and the Church's adversaries, so that they sought on all occasions to vent their mischief against him.

For, at the very next sitting down of the Scots parliament, the Earl of Montrose made a most mischievous attempt to wound his reputation, and to set the King at perpetual variance with him, Among other offensive speeches uttered by Montrose, one was, that Argyle, when in company with the Earl of Athol, and the other

* See this discourse at large in Stevensons History, p. 674.

eight gentlemen taken up by him the previous year, for carrying arms against their country, in his tent at the ford of Lyons, said publicly, "That the parliament had consulted lawyers and others, anent the deposing of the King, and had got for answer that it might be done in three cases, viz. 1. Desertion; 2. Invasion; and 3. Vendition. And that they once thought to have done it at the last sitting, but would certainly do it at the next."—Montrose condescended on Mr. James Stuart, commissary of Dunkeld, one of the foresaid eight gentlemen, as his informer; and the said commissary having come to Edinburgh, he was fool hardy enough to subscribe the acknowledgment of the above report. The Earl of Argyle denied the truth of it in the strongest terms, and resolved to prosecute Mr. Stuart before the Court of Justiciary, where he insisted for an impartial trial: This was granted; and, according to his desire, four Lords of the Session were added *hac vice* to the Court of Justiciary. Stuart was accused upon the law against leasing, particularly of a principal statesman; and to avoid the imminent danger of a sentence upon this ground, he wrote to Argyle, clearing him of the charge laid against him, and acknowledging that he himself had forged it out of malice. But though his Lordship's innocence was thus cleared, it was thought necessary to let the trial go on; and the fact being proved Stuart was condemned to die. Argyle would willingly have seen the royal clemency extended to the unfortunate man; but others thought the crime tended to mar the design of the late treaty, and judged it needful, as a terror to others, to make an example. At his execution, he discovered great remorse for what he had done; and although our worthy nobleman was vindicated in the matter, yet we find that after the Restoration it was made one of the principal charges against him.

About this period, the King, disagreeing with his English parliament, made another tour to Scotland, and attended at the meeting of the Scots parliament, and on this occasion, that he might more effectually gain over the Scots to his interest, he not only granted a ratification of all their previous proceedings both in their own defence, and with respect to religion, but also dignified several of the nobility by new honours. And being sensible of the many great and good services done by the Earl of Argyle, he placed him at the head of the treasury; and the day before the rising of the parliament, all the commissions granted to, and the public services performed by him, were approved of; and an act of parliament to this effect voted and read, the King giving him this testimony in public,—that he dealt too honestly with him, though he was still untractable as to the great point in controversy. On the same day, Nov. 15, 1641, the King delivered a patent to the Lion King at Arms, and he to the Clerks register, who read it publicly, whereby his Majesty created him *Marquis* of Argyle, Earl of Kintyre, Lord Lorn, &c.; which being read and given back to the King, his Majesty delivered it with his own hand to the Marquis; who rose and made a very handsome speech, to the effect that he neither expected nor deserved such honour or preferment.

During the sitting of the foresaid parliament, another plot was laid against this nobleman: Some of the nobility, envying the power, preferment, and influence, which he and the Marquis of Hamilton had with the King, laid a close design for their lives. The Earl of Crawford, Colonel Cochran, and Lient. Alexander Stuart, were to have been the actors: the plan (in which it was insinuated, that his Majesty, Lord Almond, &c. were privy,) was,—that Hamilton and Argyle should be called for in the dead of the night to speak with the King: and in the way were to be arrested as traitors, and delivered to Earl Crawford, who was to wait for them with a considerable body of men. If any resistance was made, he was to stab them immediately, if not, carry them prisoners to a ship of war, in the roads of Leith, where they were to be confined till tried for treason. But this plot being discovered before it was ripe for execution, the two noblemen, the night before, went off to a place of more strength twelve miles distant, and so escaped the danger, as a bird out of the hands of the fowler. Yet such was their lenity and clemency, that upon a petition from them, the foresaid persons were set at liberty.

After this, in 1643, the Earl (now Marquis) of Argyle had a most active hand in carrying on the work of reformation and uniformity in religion. And in the year following, while he was busied among the covenanters, Montrose and some others having associated to raise forces for the King, drew off his attention from the good work. Intending to draw the Scots army forth of England, the Earl of Antrim to effect this, undertook to send over ten thousand Irish, under the command of one Macdonald a Scotsman, to the north of Scotland. A considerable body was accordingly sent who committed many outrages in Argyle's country. To suppress this insurrection, therefore, the Committee of Estates, April 10, gave orders to the Marquis to raise three regiments; which he accordingly did, and with them marched northward, took several of their principal chieftains prisoners, and dispersed the rest. But Montrose being still on the field, and having gained several victories during this and the following year, meantime plundered the greater part of Argyleshire, and other places belonging to the covenanters; and although he was at last defeated and totally routed by General Leslie at Philiphaugh, yet the foresaid Macdonald and his Irish band returned to Argyleshire, in the beginning of 1646, and burned and plundered the dwellings of the well-affected, to such an extent, that about 1200 of them assembled in a body, under Acknalase, who brought them down to Monteith, to live upon the disaffected in that country. But in their way thither, the Athol men falling upon them at Callender, and they being but poorly armed, several of them were killed, and the rest fled towards Stirling, where their master, the Noble Marquis met them, and commiserating their deplorable condition, carried them through to Lennox, to live upon the lands of the Lord Napier, and others of the disaffected, until they should be better provided for. In the meantime he himself went to Ireland, brought over the remains of the Scots forces, and with them landed in Argyleshire;

upon which Macdonald betook himself to the Isles, and from thence returned to Ireland; so that peace was restored in those parts.*

Again, in 1648, when the state fell into two factions, that of the malignants was headed by the Duke of Hamilton; and the other (the covenanters) by the Marquis of Argyle, from which may be concluded that from the year 1643 (when he had such an active hand in calling the Convention of Estates, and entering into the solemn league and covenant) to 1648, he was the principal agent amongst the latter, and never failed, on all occasions, to appear in defence of the civil and religious liberties of his country.

As to what took place in 1649, it is well known what appearances he made, and what influence he gained in the parliament, and that to the utmost of his power, he employed the same in bringing home Charles II. and possessing him of his throne and royal authority. In all this he succeeded to good purpose, as long as the King followed his advice, but afterwards the malignant faction being received into places of power and trust, all went to wreck; which was matter of no small grief to this worthy nobleman.

And as the King was well received then by the Marquis of Argyle, so he at the time pretended a great deal of regard for him in return. This appears from a letter or declaration, given under his hand, at St. Johnston, September 24, 1650, in which he says, "Having taken into my consideration the faithful endeavours of the Marquis of Argyle, for restoring me to my just rights, I am desirous to let the world see how sensible I am of his real respect to me, by some particular favour to him. And particularly I do promise that I shall make him Duke of Argyle, a knight of the garter, and one of the gentlemen of my bed-chamber, and this to be performed when he shall think fit. I do further promise to hearken to his counsel, whenever it shall please God to restore me to my just rights in England. I shall see him paid the 10,000 pounds Sterling which are due to him. All which I do promise to make good upon the word of a King."

C. R.

How all these fair promises were performed, will come afterwards to be observed. For this godly nobleman taking upon him to reprove the King for some of his immoralities,† the faithful admonition, however well it appeared to be taken for the present, it afterwards appeared, was never forgotten till it was repaid him with the highest resentment: in such a way did he hearken to his counsel: and of a truth if debauchery and dissimulation have ever been accounted among the liberal sciences, then this Prince was altogether a master in these departments.‡

In the meantime, January 1, 1651, the King was crowned at

* See a more full account of these transactions in Stevenson's History, vol. III. p. 176.

† Some accounts bear, that this was a rape committed by him.

‡ See the national covenant.

Scone. After an excellent sermon by Mr. Robert Douglas, from 2 Kings ii. 17. the King took the coronation-oath; then sitting down in the chair of state, after some other ceremonies were performed, the Marquis of Argyle taking the crown in his hands, and Mr. Douglas having prayed, he set it on the King's head; and so ascending the stage, attended by the officers of the crown, he was installed into the royal throne by the Marquis, saying, "Stand fast, &c. from henceforth in the place whereof you are the lawful and righteous heir, by a long and lineal succession of your fathers, which is now delivered to you by the authority of God Almighty."* The solemnity was then concluded by a pertinent exhortation, both to King and people, wherein they were certified, that if they should conspire against the kingdom of Jesus Christ, both supporters and supported should fall together.

But the King's forces having been previously defeated by Cromwell, at Dunbar, and being no longer able to make head against the English, he went to England; and by his particular allowance, the Marquis of Argyle, after kissing his hand was left at Stirling. But his army being totally routed on the 3d of September following at Worcester, and he being thus driven from all his dominions, the English meantime over-run the whole country, so that the representatives of the nation were obliged either to take the tender, or suffer great hardships. This tender the Marquis had refused at Dunbarton; and upon this they resolved to invade the Highlands and the shire of Argyle. Major Dean coming to the Marquis's house at Inverary, where he was lying sick, presented a paper, which he behoved to subscribe against to-morrow, or be carried off prisoner; this, though sore against his will, for his own and his tenants' safety, he did subscribe with some alterations; which capitulation was afterwards made a mighty handle of against him. And although he had some influence upon the usurper, and was present at several meetings, wherein he procured an equal hearing to the protesters at London, yet while there in 1657, he was rather a prisoner on demand than a free agent, and so continued until the Restoration.

In the year 1660, soon after the King's return, the Marquis being solicited to repair to Court, and no doubt being inclined to wait on a Prince on whose head he had set the crown, though some of his friends used arguments to divert him from his purpose, and being from the testimony of a good conscience, aware that he was able to vindicate himself from all aspersions, if he was but once admitted to the King's presence, set out for London, where he arrived on the 8th of July, and went directly to Whitehall to salute his Majesty. But whenever the King heard he was come thither, notwithstanding his former fair promises, he ordered Sir William Fleming to apprehend him, and carry him to the Tower, and there he continued till toward the beginning of December, he was sent down in a man of war, to abide his trial before the parliament in

* See the coronation of Charles II. p. 38, &c.

Scotland. On the 20th of that month they landed at Leith, and next day he was taken along the streets of Edinburgh, covered, betwixt two of the town-bailies, and lodged in the castle, where he continued until his trial came on.

On Feb. 13, 1661, he was brought down from the castle in a coach attended by three of the magistrates of Edinburgh, and the town guard, and presented before the bar of the House, where the King's Advocate, Sir John Fletcher, accused him, in common form, of high treason, and producing an indictment, craved that it might be read. The Marquis begged liberty to speak before this was done, but the House refused his request, and ordered it to be read; and though he entreated them to hear a petition he had to present, yet this too was a favour not to be granted. The indictment, which was more months in preparing than he had days allowed in the first instance to bring his defence, consisted of fourteen articles; the principal of which were, his entering into the solemn league and covenant with England, and his complying with Oliver Cromwell, all the rest being a heap of slanders and perversions of matter of fact, all which he completely exposes in his information and answers.*

After his indictment was read, he had leave to speak, and spoke for some time with great effect. Among other things, he said, with Paul, in another case, "The things laid against me cannot be proven"—But this he confessed, that in the way allowed by solemn oath and covenant, he had served his God, his King, and his country; and though he owned he wanted not the failings common to all public persons in such a period, yet he blessed God that he was able to make the falsehood of every article of his charge appear; that he had done nothing with a bad intention, but with many others had the misfortune to do many things, the unforeseen events of which had actually proved bad.

The parliament fixed on the 27th of February for bringing in his defence, which was too short a time for preparing to reply to so many articles. At his request, however, it was put off till the 5th of March, on which day he appeared before the Lords of the Articles, and being ordered immediately to produce his defence, delivered a most moving speech, and gave in a petition, remitting himself to the King's mercy, and beseeching the parliament to intercede for him. On the following day, he was brought before the parliament. It was reported by the Lords of Articles, that he had offered a submission to his Majesty, but this submission was voted not satisfactory, and he was commanded, on the morrow, to give in his defence to their Lordships. When he came before them he said his defence was not ready, and he was appointed to give it in on Monday April 9, otherwise they would decide on the whole business without any regard to what he should afterwards say. It

* See these articles at large and his answers, in Wodrow's Church History, Vol. I. p. 43—52.

seems, however, on the day appointed, his defence was given in ; it extended to fifteen sheets of small print, and fully vindicated his management from all the falsehoods and calumnies in the indictment.

Upon the 16th of April, he was again brought before the parliament ; and after the process was read, he made a very impressive and moving speech, in which, at considerable length,* he removed several of the reproaches cast upon him, and touched at some things not in his papers ; but all that he or his lawyers could say had little weight with the members of parliament. Some of them were already resolved what to do : the House had many messages to hasten his process to an end, but the misgiving of many of their designed probations against him embarrassed them not a little ; for it appears, that there were upwards of thirty different libels got up against him, which all came to nothing when they began to prove them, as falsehoods usually do ; so that they were at length forced to betake themselves to the innocent but necessary compliance with the English, after every shire and burgh in Scotland had made submission to the conquerors.

In the beginning of May, witnesses were examined and depositions taken against him ; after which he was, upon the 25th of that month, brought to the bar of the House to receive sentence from his judges, who, as he told the King's Advocate, were *socii criminis*, or accomplices in the crime. The House was very thin,—all withdrawing except those who were resolved to follow the courses of the time. He put them in mind of the practice of Theodosius the Emperor, who enacted, that the sentence of death should not be executed till thirty days after it was passed, and added, " I crave but ten, that the King may be acquainted with it ;"—but in this he was refused. The sentence was then pronounced, " that he was found guilty of high treason, and adjudged to be executed as a traitor, his head to be severed from his body, at the cross of Edinburgh, upon Monday the 27th instant, and affixed on the same place where the Marquis of Montrose's head formerly was, and his arms torn before the parliament at the cross." Upon this he offered to speak, but the trumpet sounding, he stopt till they ended, and then said, " I had the honour to set the crown on the King's head, and now he hastens me to a better crown than his own." And directing himself to the commissioner and parliament, he said, " You have the indemnity of an earthly King among your hands, and have denied me a share in that ; but you cannot hinder me from the indemnity of the King of kings : and shortly you must be before His tribunal. I pray he mete not out such measure to you as you have done to me, when you are called to an account for all your actings, and this amongst the rest."

After sentence, he was ordered to the common-prison, where his excellent Lady was waiting for him. Upon seeing her, he said,

* See the Appendix to Wodrow's History, No. 18.

"They have given me till Monday to be with you, my dear, therefore let us make for it." She embracing him, wept bitterly, and said, "The Lord will require it; The Lord will require it;" which drew tears from all in the room. But being himself composed, he said, "Forbear, forbear. I pity them, they know not what they are doing. They may shut me in where they please, but they cannot shut God out from me. For my part, I am as content to be here as in the castle, and as content in the castle as in the Tower of London, and as content there as when at liberty; and I hope to be as content on the scaffold as any of them all," &c. He added, he remembered a scripture cited by an honest minister to him while in the castle, which he intended to put in practice. "When Ziglag was taken and burnt, the people spake of stoning David, but he encouraged himself in the Lord."

He spent the short time, till Monday, with the greatest serenity and cheerfulness, and in the proper exercises of a dying Christian. To some ministers who were permitted to attend him, he said, "That shortly they would envy him, who was got before them,"—and added, "Remember that I tell you, my skill fails me, if you who are ministers will not either suffer much or sin much; for though you go along with these men in part, if you do not in all things, you are but where you were, and so must suffer; and if you go not at all with them you must but suffer."

During his life, he was reckoned rather timorous than bold. In prison, he said, he was naturally inclined to fear in his temper, but desired those about him, to observe that the Lord had heard his prayer, and removed all fear from him. At his own desire, his Lady took her leave of him on the Sabbath-night. Mr. Robert Douglas and Mr. George Hutcheson preached to him in the tolbooth on the Lord's day, and his dear and much valued friend, Mr. David Dickson, it is said, was his bed-fellow the last night he was in time.

The Marquis had a sweet time in the tolbooth as to the condition of his soul, and this still increased the nearer he approached his end; As he slept calmly and pleasantly the preceding night, so on Monday morning, though much engaged in settling his affairs in the midst of company, he had at intervals much spiritual conversation, and was so overpowered by a sensible effusion of the Holy Spirit, that he broke out on one occasion into a rapture, and said, "I thought to have concealed the Lord's goodness, but it will not do. I am now ordering my affairs, and God is sealing my charter to a better inheritance, and just now saying to me, *Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee.*"

Some time before he went to the place of execution, he received an excellent letter from a certain minister, and wrote a most moving one to the King. He dined precisely at twelve o'clock, in company with his friends, displaying great cheerfulness, and then retired a little. Upon his opening the door, Mr. Hutcheson said, "What cheer, my Lord?" He answered, "Good cheer, Sir, the Lord hath again confirmed and said to me from heaven, *Thy sins be forgiven thee.*" Upon this tears of joy flowed in abundance; he retired to

the window and wept; from that he came to the fire, and made as if he would stir it a little to conceal his concern; but it would not do, his tears ran down his face; and coming to Mr. Hutcheson, he said, "I think his kindness overcomes me. But God is good to me, that he lets not out too much of it here, for he knows I could not bear it.* Get me my cloak and let us go." But being told that the clock was kept back till one, till the bailies should come, he answered, "They are far in the wrong;" and presently kneeled and prayed before all present, in a most sweet and heavenly manner. As he ended, the bailies sent up word for him to come down, upon which he called for a glass of wine, and having asked a blessing to it, standing and continuing in the same frame, he said, "Now let us go, and God be with us."

After having taken his leave of such in the room as were not to go with him to the scaffold, going towards the door, he said, "I could die like a Roman, but choose rather to die like a Christian. Come away, gentlemen, he that goes first goes cleanliest." When going down stairs, he called the Reverend Mr. James Guthrie to him, and embracing him in a most endearing way, took his farewell of him; Mr. Guthrie, at parting, addressed the Marquis thus: "My Lord, God hath been with you, he is with you, and will be with you. And such is my respect for your Lordship, that if I were not under sentence of death myself, I would cheerfully die for your Lordship." So they parted to meet again in a better place on the Friday following.

Then, accompanied by several noblemen and gentlemen, mounted in black, he with his cloak and hat on, went down the street, and having mounted the scaffold, with great serenity, like one going to his Father's house, saluted all on it. Mr. Hutcheson then prayed; after which his Lordship addressed the spectators, and among other things, said, "I come not here to justify *myself*, but the *Lord*, who is holy in all his ways, righteous in all his works, holy and blessed is his name. Neither come I to condemn others. I bless the Lord, I forgive all men, and desire to be forgiven of the Lord myself. Let the will of the Lord be done, that is all I desire. I was real and cordial in my desires to bring the King home, and in my endeavours for him when he was home, and had no correspondence with the adversaries' army, nor any of them, when his Majesty was in Scotland; nor had I any hand in his late Majesty's murder.—I shall not speak much to these things for which I am condemned,

* The historian Burnet, in the introduction to his History, p. 30, &c. is pleased to say, "This Argyle was a pretender to high degrees of piety. Warriston went to very high notions of lengthened devotions, and whatsoever struck his fancy during his effusions, he looked on it as an answer of prayer." But perhaps the Bishop was much a stranger both to high degrees of piety and lengthened devotions, and also to such returns of prayer, for these two gallant noblemen faced the bloody axe and gibbet, rather than forego their profession, with more courage, and (I may say) upon better principles or grounds of suffering, than what any diocesan Bishop in Scotland at least, or even the doctor himself was honoured to do.

lest I seem to condemn others. It is well known it is only for compliance, which was the epidemical fault of the nation; I wish the Lord to pardon them. I say no more—but God hath laid engagements on Scotland. We are tied by covenants to religion and reformation; those who were then unborn are yet engaged; and it passeth the power of all the magistrates under heaven to absolve from the oath of God. These times are like to be either very sinning or suffering times; and let Christians make their choice, there is a sad dilemma in the business, *sin* or *suffer*: and surely he that will choose the better part will choose to suffer, others that will choose to sin will not escape suffering. They shall *suffer*, but perhaps not as I do, (pointing to the maiden,) but worse. Mine is but temporal, theirs shall be eternal! When I shall be singing, they shall be howling. Beware therefore of sin, whatever you are aware of, especially in such times. And hence my condition is such now, as, when I am gone, will be seen not to be as many imagined. I wish as the Lord hath pardoned me, so may he pardon them, for this and other things, and what they have done to me may never meet them in their accounts. I have no more to say, but to beg the Lord, that when I go away, he would bless every one that stayeth behind."

When he had delivered this seasonable and pathetic speech,* Mr. Hamilton prayed; after which he prayed most sweetly himself; then he took his leave of all his friends on the scaffold. He first gave the executioner a napkin with some money in it; he gave to his sons-in-law, Caithness and Ker, his watch and some other things out of his pocket; he gave to Loudon his silver penner, to Lothian a double ducat, and then threw off his coat. When going to the Maiden, Mr. Hutcheson said, "My Lord, now hold your grip sicker." He answered, "You know, Mr. Hutcheson, what I said to you in the chamber. I am not afraid to be surprised with fear." The Laird of Skelmorlie took him by the hand, when near the maiden, and found him most composed. He kneeled down most cheerfully, and after he had prayed a little, he gave the signal (which was by lifting up his hand,) and the instrument, called the Maiden, struck off his head from his body, which was fixed on the west end of the tol-booth, as a monument of the parliament's injustice and the land's misery. His body was, by his friends, put in a coffin, and conveyed with a good many attendants, through Linlithgow and Falkirk to Glasgow, and from thence to Kilpatrick where it was put in a boat, carried to Dunoon, and buried in Kilmun church.

Thus died the Noble Marquis of Argyle, the proto-martyr to religion since the reformation from Popery, the true portrait of whose character, says Wodrow, cannot be drawn. His enemies themselves will allow him to have been a person of extraordinary piety, remarkable wisdom and prudence, great gravity and authority, and

* For which with his last words, see Naphtali, or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland.

singular usefulness. He was the head of the covenanters in Scotland, and had been singularly active in the work of reformation, and of any almost that had engaged in that work he stuck closest by it, even, when most of the nation quitted it; so that this attack upon him was a stroke at the root of all that had been done in Scotland from 1638. But the tree of Prelacy behoved to be soaked, when planting, with the blood of this excellent patriot, staunch Presbyterian, and vigorous asserter of Scotland's liberty: and as he was the great promoter thereof during his life, and steadfast in witnessing to it at his death, so it was in a manner buried with him, for many years. In a word, he had piety for a Christian, sense for a counsellor, carriage for a martyr, and soul for a king. If ever any was, he might be said to be a true Scotsman!



JAMES GUTHRIE.

MR. JAMES GUTHRIE was son to the Laird of Guthrie, and of a very honourable and ancient family. Having gone through his course of classical learning at the grammar-school and college, he commenced teaching philosophy in the University of St. Andrews, where for several years he gave abundant proof that he was an able scholar. His temper was very steady and composed; he could reason upon the most subtle points with great solidity, and when every one else was warm, he remained unruffled. At any time, when indecent heats or wranglings happened to occur in reasoning, it was his ordinary custom to say, "Enough of this, let us go to some other subject; we are warm, and can dispute no longer with advantage." Perhaps he had the greatest mixture of fervent zeal and sweet calmness in his temper, of any man in his time. Being educated in opposition to Presbyterian principles, he was highly Prelatical in his judgment when he first came to St. Andrews; but by conversing with worthy Mr. Rutherford and others, and especially through his joining the weekly society's meetings there, for prayer and conference, he was effectually brought off from that way; and perhaps it was this that made the writer of the journal, who was no friend of his, say, "That if Mr. Guthrie had continued fixed to his first principles, he had been a star of the first magnitude in Scotland." When, accordingly, he came to judge for himself, he happily departed from his first principles, and upon examination of that way wherein he was educated, left it, and thereby became a star of the first magnitude indeed. It is said, that while a regent in the college of St. Andrews, Mr. Sharp, being then a promising young man there, he several times wrote this verse upon him,

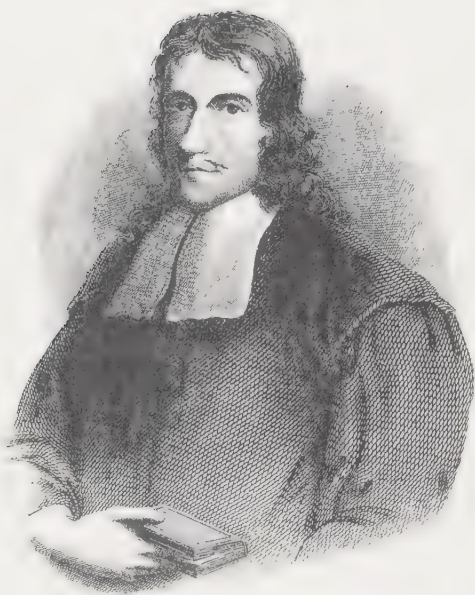
If thou, Sharp, diest the common death of men,
I'll burn my bill, and throw away my pen.

Having passed his trials in 1638, he was settled minister at Lau-

der, where he remained for several years. In 1646, he was one of the ministers appointed to attend the King while at Newcastle; and likewise he was one of those nominated in the commission for the public affairs of the church, during the intervals betwixt the General Assemblies. And in about three years after this, he was translated to Stirling, where he continued until the Restoration, a most faithful watchman upon Zion's walls, who ceased not day and night to declare the whole counsel of God to his people, *showing Israel their iniquities, and the house of Jacob their sins.*

After he came to Stirling, he again not only evidenced a singular care over the people he had charge of, but also was a great assistant in the affairs of the church, being a most zealous enemy to all error and profanity. And when the unhappy difference fell out with the public resolutioners, he was a most staunch protestor, opposing these resolutions to the utmost of his power; insomuch that after the presbytery of Stirling had wrote a letter to the Commission of the General Assembly, showing their dislike and dissatisfaction with the resolutions, after they had been concluded upon at Perth, Dec. 14, 1650, Mr. Guthrie, and his colleague Mr. Bennet, went somewhat farther, and openly preached against them, as involving the land in conjunction with the malignant party; for which, by a letter from the Chancellor, they were ordered to repair to Perth on February 19, 1651, to answer before the King* and the Committee of Estates. Upon the indisposition of one of them, they excused themselves for their non-appearance that day, but promised to attend at the end of the week. Accordingly, on the 22d, they appeared at Perth, where they gave in a protestation, signifying, that although they owned his Majesty's civil authority, yet was Mr. Guthrie challenged by the King and his Council for a doctrinal thesis which he had

* It surely was a piece of ill advised conduct, as many of themselves afterwards acknowledged, that ever upon any terms they elected or admitted to the regal dignity, any of that family of Ahab after the Almighty had so remarkably driven them forth these kingdoms, particularly Charles II. after he had given such recent proofs of his dissimulation and disaffection unto the cause and people of God in these nations. After this indeed they never had a day to prosper; for, by contending against malignants, and yet at the same time vowing and praying for the head of malignants, they not only had malignants and sectaries to fight with, but also made a desuetude unto their former attainments, and so came to contend with one another, until Prelacy proved their utter ruin at last. It is objected that King Charles was a good-natured man, and that the extermination of our excellent constitution was from evil counsellors. It is but too true, that evil counsellors have many times proved the ruin of kingdoms and commonwealths, else the wise man would not have said, *Take away the wicked from before the King, and his throne shall be established*, Prov. xxv. 5. But take the matter as it is, he was still the head of that constitution, and (not to speak of his other immoralities) a most perfidious, treacherous, and wicked man, and could engage to-day and break to-morrow, and all to obtain an earthly crown. For a further illustration of this, see a letter, showing the defection of both addressers and protestors, &c. Dr. Owen's sermon before the protector in Scotland, the History of the Stuarts; and Bennet's Memorial of Britain's deliverances, &c.



maintained and spoken to in a sermon,—and they being incompetent judges in matters purely ecclesiastical, such as the examination and censuring of doctrines,—he did decline them on that account.*

The matter being deferred for some days, till the King returned from Aberdeen, the two ministers, meantime, were confined to Perth and Dundee; whereupon they (Feb. 28.) presented another paper or protestation,† which was much the same, though in stronger terms, and supported by many excellent arguments. After this the King and Committee thought proper to dismiss them, and to proceed no farther in the affair, yet Mr. Guthrie's declining the King's authority in matters ecclesiastical at this time, was made the principal article in his indictment some years after, in consequence of the personal pique of Middleton against him, the occasion of which was as follows:

By improving an affront the King met with in 1650, some malignants so prevailed to excite his fears of the evil designs of those about him, that, by a correspondence with such as were disaffected to the covenants in the north, matters came in a little to this pass, that a considerable number of noblemen, gentlemen, and others, were to rise and form themselves into an army, under Middleton's command, and the King was to cast himself into their arms. Accordingly, with a few in his retinue, as if he were going a hunting, he left his best friends, crossed the Tay, and came to Angus, where he was to have met with the insurgents; but finding himself disappointed, he came back to the Committee of Estates, where indeed his greatest strength lay. In the meanwhile some who had been in the plot fearing punishment, got together under Middleton's command. General Leslie marched towards them, and the King wrote them to lay down their arms. The Committee sent an indemnity to such as should submit; and while the States were thus dealing with them, the Commission of the Assembly were not wanting in zeal against such as thus ventured to disturb the public peace; and it is said, that Mr. Guthrie proposed summary excommunication, as what Middleton deserved, and what he thought a suitable testimony from the Church at this juncture. This highest sentence was carried in the Commission by a plurality of votes, and Mr. Guthrie was appointed to pronounce it next Sabbath. In the mean time the Committee of Estates, not without some debate, had agreed upon an indemnity to Middleton. There was an express sent to Stirling; with an account how things stood, and a letter, desiring Mr. Guthrie to forbear the intimation of the Commission's sentence. But this letter coming to him just as he was going to the pulpit, he did not open it till the work was over: and though he had, it is a question if he would have delayed the Commission's sentence upon a private mis-sive to himself. However, the sentence was inflicted, and although

* Apologetical Relation, § 3. page 83.

† See these protestations in Wodrow's Church History, vol. I. p. 58. and 59.

the Commission of the Church, Jan. 2, 1651, being their next meeting, did release Middleton from the censure, and laid it on a better man, Col. Strachan,* yet it is believed Middleton never forgave or forgot what Mr. Guthrie did upon that day, as will afterwards be made more fully to appear.

Mr. Guthrie, about this time, wrote several of the papers on the protestors' side; for which, and his faithfulness, he was one of the three who were deposed by the pretended Assembly at St. Andrews, 1657. Yea, such was the malice of these resolutioners, that upon his refusal of one of their party, and his acceding to the call of Mr. Rule, to be his colleague at Stirling, upon the death of Mr. Bennet in 1656, they proceeded to stone him with stones, his testimony while alive so tormented the men who dwelt upon the earth.

And as Mr. Guthrie did faithfully testify against the resolutioners and the malignant party, so he did equally oppose himself to the sectaries and to Cromwell's usurpation; and although he went up to London in 1657, when the Marquis of Argyle procured an equal hearing betwixt the protestors and the resolutioners, yet he so boldly defended the King's right in public debate with Hugh Peters, Oliver's chaplain, and from the pulpit so asserted the King's title in the face of the English officers, as was surprising to all gainsayers.—Yet for this and other hardships that he endured on this account at this time he was poorly rewarded, as by and by will come to be observed.

Very soon after the Restoration, while Mr. Guthrie and some of his faithful brethren, who assembled at Edinburgh, were drawing up a paper in way of supplication to his Majesty, they were all apprehended, and imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, with the exception of one who happily escaped; and from thence Mr. Guthrie was taken to Stirling castle,† where he continued till a little before his trial, which was upon the 20th of February, 1661. When he came to trial, the Chancellor told him, he was called before them to answer to the charge of high treason, (a copy of which charge he had received some weeks before;) and the Lord Advocate proposed his indictment should be read;—which the house went into: The heads of it were, 1. His contriving, consenting to, and exhibiting before the Committee of Estates, the paper called the Western Remonstrance. 2. His contriving, writing, and publishing, that abominable pamphlet, called, *The Causes of the Lord's Wrath*. 3. His contriving, writing, and subscribing, the paper called the Humble Petition‡ of the twenty-third of August last. 4. His convocating of the King's lieges, &c. 5. His declaring his Majesty, by his appeals and protestations presented by him at Perth,

* This unjust sentence was pronounced in the High Church of Glasgow, by Mr. John Carstairs.

† The author of the *Apologetical Relation* says to Dundee.

‡ See this paper, called the *Humble Petition*, in Crookshank's *History*, vol. I. p. 64.

incapable to be judge over him. And, 6. Some treasonable expressions he was alleged to have uttered, in a meeting in 1650 or 1651.

His indictment being read, he made an excellent speech before the parliament, in which he both defended himself, and the noble cause for which he suffered : This being too nervous to be abridged, and too prolix to be inserted in this place, the reader will find it in Wodrow's History.*

After he had delivered this speech he was ordered to remove. He humbly craved, that some time might be given him to consult with his lawyers. This was granted ; and he was allowed till the 29th to give in his defence. It is related, that when he met with his lawyers to form his defence, he very much surprised them by his exact knowledge of Scots law, and suggested several things to be added that had escaped his advocate. This made Sir John Nisbet express himself to this purpose, " If it had been in the reasoning part, or in consequence from scripture and divinity, I would have wondered the less if he had given us some help, but even in the matter of our own profession, our statutes and acts of parliament, he pointed out several things that had escaped us." Moreover, the day before his first appearance in parliament, it is said he sent a copy of the forementioned speech to Sir John and the rest of his lawyers, and that they could mend nothing therein.

The considering and preparing of his defence, took up some weeks. Upon the 11th of April, the process against him was read in the House, and on this occasion also, he made a speech which was both affecting and close to the purpose ; and which he concludes thus :

" My Lords, in the last place, I humbly beg, that having brought so pregnant and clear evidence from the word of God, so much divine reason and human laws, and so much of the common practice of kirk and kingdom, in my defence, and being already cast out of my ministry, out of my dwelling and maintenance, myself and my family put to live on the charity of others, having now suffered eight months' imprisonment, your Lordships would put no other burden upon me. I shall conclude with the words of the prophet Jeremiah, *Behold, I am in your hands, saith he, do to me what seemeth good to you : I know, for certain, that the Lord hath commanded me to speak all these things : and that if you put me to death, you shall bring innocent blood upon yourselves, and upon the inhabitants of this city.*"

" My Lords, my conscience I cannot submit ; but this old crazy body and mortal flesh, I do submit, to do with it whatever ye will, whether by death or banishment, or imprisonment, or any thing else ; only I beseech you to ponder well what profit there is in my blood ; it is not the extinguishing of me, or many others, that will extinguish the covenant and work of reformation since the year 1638. My blood, bondage or banishment, will contribute more for

the propagation of these things, than my life or liberty could do, though I should live many years." &c.

Although this speech had not the influence that might have been expected, yet it made such an impression upon some of the members, that they withdrew, declaring unto one another, that they would have nothing to do with the blood of the righteous man. But his judges were determined to proceed; and accordingly his indictment was found relevant. Bishop Burnet says, "The Earl of Tweeddale was the only man that moved against putting him to death; he said, Banishment had hitherto been the severest censure laid upon preachers for their opinions,—yet he was condemned to die." The day of his execution was not named, till the 28th of May, when the parliament ordered him and William Govan to be hanged at the cross of Edinburgh, on the first of June, and Mr. Guthrie's head to be fixed on the Nether Bow, his estate to be confiscated, and his arms torn; the head of the other was to be placed upon the West Port of Edinburgh.

And thus a sentence of death was passed upon Mr. Guthrie, for his accession to the Causes of God's Wrath, his writing the petition, protestation above mentioned; matters done a good many years ago, and every way agreeable and conform to the word of God, the principles and practice of this and other churches, and the laws of the kingdom. After he had received his sentence, he accosted the parliament thus; "My Lords, let never this sentence affect you more than it does me, and let never my blood be required of the king's family."

Thus it was resolved that this excellent man should fall a sacrifice to private and personal pique, and it is said that the commissioners had no small debate what his sentence should be; for he was dealt with by some of them, to retract what he had done and written, to join with the present measures and accept of a bishopric. His enemies were in no hazard by making the experiment, for they might be assured of his firmness in principle. A bishopric was a very small temptation to him; and the Commissioners improved his inflexibility, to have his life taken away, to be a terror to others, that they might have the less opposition in establishing Prelacy.

Betwixt Mr. Guthrie's sentence and his execution, he enjoyed perfect composure and serenity of spirit, and wrote a great many excellent letters to his friends and acquaintances. In this interval he uttered several prophetic expressions, which, together with the foresaid religious letters, could they now be recovered, might be of no small use, in this apostate and backsliding age. The day (June 1.) on which he was executed, it being reported that he was to buy his life, at the expense of retracting some of the things he had formerly said and done, he wrote and subscribed the following declaration:

"These are to declare, that I do own the causes of God's Wrath, the Supplication at Edinburgh, August last, and the accession I had to the remonstrances. And if any do think, or have reported, that I was willing to recede from these, they have wronged me, as never having any ground from me to think or to report so. This I attest,

under my hand, at Edinburgh, about eleven o'clock, forenoon, before these witnesses.

Mr. ARTHUR FORBES,
Mr. HUGH WALKER,

Mr. JOHN GUTHRIE,
Mr. JAMES COWIE."

That same day, he dined with his friends with great cheerfulness. After dinner he called for cheese, which he had been dissuaded from using for some time, being subject to the gravel, and said, I am now beyond the hazard of that complaint. After having been in secret for some time, he came forth with the utmost fortitude and composure, and was carried down, under a guard from the tolbooth to the scaffold, which was erected at the cross. Here he was so far from showing any fear, that he rather expressed a contempt of death; and spoke an hour upon the ladder, with the composure of one delivering a sermon. Among other things becoming a martyr he said, "One thing I warn you all of, that God is very wroth with Scotland, and threatens to depart, and remove his candlestick. The causes of his wrath are many, and would to God it were not one great cause, that the causes of wrath are despised. Consider the case that is recorded, Jer. xxxvi. and the consequence of it, and tremble and fear. I cannot but also say, that there is a great addition of wrath, 1. By that deluge of profanity that overfloweth all the land, in so far that many have not only lost all use and exercise of religion, but even of morality. 2. By that horrible treachery and perjury that is in the matters of the covenant and cause of God. Be ye astonished, O ye heavens, at this! &c. 3. By horrible ingratitude. The Lord, after ten years' oppression, hath broken the yoke of strangers from off our necks; but the fruits of our delivery, is to work wickedness, and to strengthen our hands to do evil, by a most dreadful sacrificing to the creature. We have changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the image of a corruptible man, in whom many have placed almost their salvation. God is also wroth with a generation of carnal, corrupt, time-serving ministers. I know, and do bear testimony, that in the Church of Scotland, there is a true and faithful ministry, and I pray you to honour these, for their works' sake. I do bear my witness to the national covenant of Scotland, and solemn league and covenant betwixt the three kingdoms. These sacred solemn public oaths of God, I believe can be loosed or dispensed with by no person, or party, or power upon earth, but are still binding upon these kingdoms, and will be so for ever hereafter, and are ratified and sealed by the conversion of many thousand souls, since our entering thereinto. I bear my testimony to the protestation against the controverted assemblies, and the public resolutions. I take God to record upon my soul, I would not exchange this scaffold with the palace or mitre of the greatest prelate in Britain. Blessed be God who hath showed mercy to me such a wretch, and has revealed his Son in me, and made me a minister of the everlasting gospel, and that he hath deigned, in the midst of much contradiction from Satan and the world, to seal my ministry upon the hearts of not a few of his people, and especially in the

station wherein I was last, I mean the congregation and presbytery of Stirling. Jesus Christ is my light and my life, my righteousness, my strength, and my salvation; yea, all my desire. Him! O him! I do with all the strength of my soul commend to you. Bless him, O my soul, from henceforth, even for ever!" He concluded with the words of old Simeon, *Now let thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.* He gave a copy of this his last speech and testimony, subscribed and sealed, to a friend to keep, which he was to deliver to his son, then a child, when he came to age. When on the scaffold, he lifted the napkin off his face, just before he was turned over, and cried, "The covenants, the covenants, shall yet be Scotland's reviving."

A few weeks after he was executed, his head having been placed on the Nether Bowport, and Middleton's coach coming down that way, several drops of blood fell from it upon the coach, which all their art could not eradicate; and when physicians were called, and asked, if any natural cause could be given for this, they could give none. The incident being noised abroad, and all means tried, the leather at length had to be removed, and a new cover put on: But this was much sooner done, than the wiping off the guilt of this great and good man's blood from the shedders of it, and the disgrace from this poor nation.*

Thus died Mr. James Guthrie, who was properly the first that suffered unto death in that period, for asserting the kingly prerogative of Jesus Christ, in opposition to Erastian supremacy. He was a man honoured of God to be singularly zealous and faithful in carrying on the work of reformation, and carried himself straight under all changes and revolutions. He did much for the interest of the King in Scotland, of which no doubt he was sensible. When he got notice of his death, he said with some warmth, "And what have you done with Patrick Gillespie," he was answered that having so many friends in the House, his life could not be taken. "Well," said he, "if I had known you would have spared Mr. Gillespie I would have spared Mr. Guthrie." And indeed he was very right in this; for Mr. Guthrie was capable to have done him much service, being accomplished with almost every qualification, natural or acquired, necessary to complete either a man or a Christian.

It is to be regretted we are favoured with so few of the writings of this Worthly. For, besides the papers already mentioned, he wrote several others upon the protestors' side. He also wrote one against the usurper Oliver Cromwell, for which he suffered some hardships during the time of that usurpation. His last sermon at Stirling, preached from Matt. xiv. 22. was published in 1738, en-

* Mr. Alexander Hamilton, when a student at the college of Edinburgh, took down Mr. Guthrie's head at the hazard of his life, and buried it, after it had stood a spectacle for twenty-seven years: and, it is observable, that the very same person afterwards succeeded him in Stirling, where he was minister twelve years.

titled, *A Cry from the Dead, &c.*; with his *Ten Considerations anent the decay of Religion*, first published by himself in 1660; and an authentic paper written and subscribed by himself upon the occasion of his being stoned by the resolution party in 1656, for his accession to the call of Mr. Robert Rule to be his colleague, after the death of Mr. Bennet. He also wrote a treatise on Ruling elders and Deacons, about the time he entered into the ministry, which is now affixed to the last edition of his cousin Mr. William Guthrie's "*Trial of a Saving interest in Christ.*"

JOHN CAMPBELL, EARL OF LOUDON.

THIS distinguished person was heir to Sir James Campbell of Lawer, and husband of Margaret, Baroness of Loudon. When King Charles I. came to Scotland, in order to have his coronation performed,* he dignified several of the Scots nobility, and among the rest, this nobleman was created Earl of Loudon, 12th May, 1633.

It appears that from his youth he had been well affected to the Presbyterian interest; for no sooner did the second reformation begin to take air, which was about the year 1637, than he appeared a principal promoter of it, and that not only in joining the petitioners, afterwards called the covenanters, but also when the General Assembly sat down at Glasgow in November 1638, by attending the same in almost every session thereof; in which he was of great service, both by his advice in difficult cases, and by the excellent speeches he delivered. For instance, when the difference arose between the Marquis of Hamilton, the King's Commissioner, and some of the members, anent choosing a clerk to the Assembly, the Marquis, refusing to be assisted by the Earl of Traquair and Sir Lewis Stuart, urged several reasons for compliance with his Majesty's pleasure, and at last renewed his protest; and upon this Lord Loudon, in name of the commissioners to the Assembly, gave in reasons of a very high and independent strain, why the Lord Commissioner and his assessors ought to have but one vote in the House. Of these reasons Traquair craved a copy, and promised to answer them; but it appears he never found leisure for this employment.

* He was crowned on the 8th of June, by Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews, assisted by the Bishops of Ross and Murray; Laud, then Bishop of London, had the direction of the ceremony. He preached in the Chapel-royal, and insisted upon the benefit of conformity, and the reverence due to the ceremonies of the Church, &c. But this discourse was far from being to the minds of the people.—See Stevenson's *History*, vol. i. Bennet's *Memorial*, p. 178.

About this time he told the King's Commissioner roundly, "They knew no other bonds betwixt a King and his subjects, but religion and laws; and if these were broken, men's lives were not dear to them; that they would not be so; that such fears were past with them."*

The King with his Bishops being galled to the heart to see, that, by the Assembly, Presbytery was almost restored and Prelacy well nigh abolished, he immediately put himself at the head of an army, in order to reduce them. The Scots, hearing of the preparations, provided as well as they could. Both armies marched towards the border; but upon the approach of the Scots, the English were moved with great timidity; and there ensued a pacification.—Commissioners being appointed to treat on both sides, the Scots were permitted to make known their demand; and the Lord Loudon being one of the Scots Commissioners, upon his knees said, "That their demand was only to enjoy their religion and liberties, according to the ecclesiastical and civil laws of the kingdom." The king replied, "That if that was all that was desired, the peace would soon be made." And after several particulars were agreed upon, the King promised, "That all ecclesiastical matters should be decided by an Assembly, and civil matters by the parliament; which Assembly should be kept once a-year. That on the 6th of August should be held a free General Assembly, when the King would be present, and pass an act of oblivion." The articles of the pacification were subscribed by the commissioners of both sides, in view of both armies, at Kirks, near Berwick, June 18th, 1639.

But this treaty was short lived and ill observed; for the King, instigated by the bishops, soon after burnt the pacification by the hands of the hangman, charging the Scots with a breach of the articles of treaty, although the Earl of Loudon gave him sufficient proofs to the contrary. The freedom thus used by his Lordship no way pleased the King; but he was suffered to return home, and the King kept his resentment till another opportunity.

In the mean time, the General Assembly having sat down at Edinburgh, August 12th, Mr. Dickson was chosen moderator; and at this Assembly, amongst other matters, Messrs. Henderson and Ramsay entered upon a demonstration, to show that Episcopacy hath its beginning from men, and is of human institution. But they had not proceeded far, till they were interrupted by Traquair, the King's Commissioner, who declared he did not wish them to go into any scholastic dispute, but only to show how far Episcopacy was contrary to the constitution of this church; whereupon Lord Loudon being present, did most solidly explain the act of the General Assembly 1580, which condemned the office of Bishops, "prior to the subscription of the national covenant," and because of a difficulty raised from these words then used, his Lordship observed, that in the Assemblies 1560, 1575, 1576, 1577, and 1578, Episcopacy

* Vide Baillie's Letters, vol. i. p. 69.

came still under consideration, though not directly as to the office, yet as to the corruption, and having enlarged upon the office of bishops as without a warrant from the word of God, he concludes,—"As we have said, the connection between the Assemblies of 1574, and of 1581, is quite clear; so that Episcopacy is put out as wanting warrant from the word of God, and Presbytery put in, as having that divine warrant; and was accordingly sworn unto."

The same day on which the Assembly arose, the Parliament sat down; but falling upon matters that did not correspond with the King's desire, Traquair did all he could to stop them, that they might get nothing done: upon which they sent the Earls of Dunfermline and Loudon to implore his Majesty to allow them to proceed, and to determine what was before them. But ere these two Lords had reached the Court, orders were sent, discharging them in the King's name, from coming within a mile of him, on supposition they had no express warrant from the Lord Commissioner; so that they returned home.

Mean time the parliament, by the King's orders, was prorogued till the 2d of June, 1640, and matters continued so till January 1641, when the Committee of parliament having obtained leave to send up deputies to represent their grievances, did again commission the two foresaid Earls, to whom they added Sir William Douglas of Cavers, and Mr. Barclay, provost of Irvine. On their arrival they were allowed to kiss the King's hand, and some time after were appointed to attend at the council-chamber; but understanding they were not to have a hearing of the King himself, they craved a copy of Traquair's information to the council of England; which was denied. At last the King gave them audience himself upon the 3d of March, when the Lord Loudon, after having addressed his Majesty, showed that his ancient and native kingdom was independent of any other judicatory whatever: and craved his Majesty's protection in defence of religion, liberty, and the cause of the Church, and then speaking concerning those who had misrepresented or traduced his most loyal Scots subjects, he said, "If it please God for our sins to make our condition so deplorable as they may get the shadow of your Majesty's authority, as we hope in God they will not, to palliate their ends, then, as those who were sworn to defend our religion, our recourse must be only to the God of Jacob for our refuge, who is the Lord of lords and King of kings, and by whom kings do reign and princes decree justice. And if, in speaking thus out of zeal to religion, and the duty we owe to our country, and that charge which is laid upon us, any thing hath escaped us, sith it is spoken from the sincerity of our hearts, we fall down at your Majesty's feet, craving pardon for our freedom." Again having eloquently expatiated upon the desires of his subjects, and the laws of the kingdom, he thus speaks of the laws of God, and the power of the Church, "Next, we must distinguish betwixt the Church and the state, betwixt the ecclesiastical and civil power: both which are materially one, yet formally they are contradistinct in power, in jurisdiction, in laws, in bodies, in ends, in offices, and

officers; and although the Church, and ecclesiastical assemblies thereof, be formally different and distinct from the parliament and civil judicatories, yet there is so strict and necessary a conjunction betwixt the ecclesiastic and civil jurisdiction, betwixt religion and justice, as the one cannot firmly subsist and be preserved without the other, and therefore they must stand and fall, live and die together," &c. He enlarged further upon the privileges of both Church and state, and then concluded with mentioning the sum of their desires,—"that your Majesty (saith he) may be graciously pleased to command, that the parliament may proceed freely to determine all these articles given into them, and whatsoever exceptions, objections, or informations, are made against any of the particular overtures, &c. we are most willing to receive the same in writing, and are content, in the same way, to return our answers and humble desires."*

On the 11th of March, the commissioners appeared, and produced their instructions; whereupon ensued some reasonings betwixt them and the King, during which Archbishop Laud, who sat on the King's right hand, was observed to mock the Scots Commissioners, causing the King put such questions to them as he pleased. At last Traquair gave in several queries and objections to them, to which they gave most solid and sufficient answers. But this farce being over, for it seems nothing else was intended by the Court than to entrap the commissioners, and particularly the noble Earl, who had thus strenuously asserted the laws and liberties of his country; they were all taken into custody, and the Earl of Loudon sent to the Tower for a letter alleged to have been written by him and sent by the Scots to the French King, of the following tenor:

"SIRE,

"YOUR Majesty being the refuge and sanctnary of afflicted princes and states, we have found it necessary to send this gentleman, Mr. Colvill, to represent unto your Majesty the candour and ingenuity, as well of our actions and proceedings as of our inventions, which we desire to be engraven and written in the whole world, with a beam of the sun, as well as to your Majesty. We therefore beseech you, Sire, to give faith and credit to him, and to all that he shall say on our part, touching us and our affairs. Being much assured, Sire, of an assistance equal to your wonted clemency heretofore, and so often showed to the nation, which will not yield the glory of any other whatsoever, to be eternally, Sire, your Majesty's most humble, most obedient, and most affectionate servant."

This letter, says a historian,† was advised and composed by Montrose, when the King was coming against Scotland with a potent army, transcribed by Lord Loudon, and subscribed by them two and the Lords Rothes, Marr, Montgomery, and Forrester, and

* History of the Stuarts, vol. I.

† Ibid.

General Leslie; but the translation being found faulty by Lord Maitland, and others, it was dropped altogether: This copy wanted both the date, which the worst of its enemies allowed, and a direction, which the Scots confidently affirmed, it never had; but falling into the King's hand (by means of Traquair,) he intended to make a handle of it, to make Lord Loudon the first sacrifice. The Noble Lord being examined before the Council, honestly acknowledged the hand-writing and subscription to be his; but said, it was before the late pacification, when his Majesty was marching in hostility against his native country, that in these circumstances it seemed necessary to have an intercessor to mitigate his wrath, and they could think of none so well qualified as the French King, being the nearest relation by affinity to their sovereign of any other crowned head in the world; but that being thought on shortly before the arrival of the English on the border, it was judged too late, and therefore was never either addressed, nor sent to the French King.

Notwithstanding this, the worst designs were cherished against this Noble Peer, and being remanded back to prison, he was very near being despatched, and that not only without the benefit of his peers, but without even a legal trial or conviction. Burnet acknowledges * that the King was advised to proceed capitally against him; but the English historians† go still farther and say, that the King about three o'clock in the afternoon, sent his own letter to William Balfour, lieutenant of the Tower, commanding him to see the Lord Loudon's head struck off, within the Tower, before nine the next morning;—a striking demonstration of the just and forgiving spirit for which, by some, King Charles is so much extolled!! Of this command, the lieutenant of the Tower, that his Lordship might prepare for death, gave him immediate notice: an intimation awful indeed, but which he, knowing the justice of his cause, received with astonishing composure and serenity of mind. The lieutenant went himself to the Marquis of Hamilton, who he thought was bound in honour to interpose in this matter. The Marquis and the lieutenant made their way to the King, who was then in bed. The warrant was scarce named, when the King understanding their errand, stopped them, saying, "By G—d, it shall be executed." But the Marquis laying before him the odiousness of the design as being a violation of the safe conduct he had granted to that nobleman, together with the dismal consequences that were like to attend an action of that nature, not only in respect to Scotland, which would certainly be lost, but likewise to his own personal safety from the nobility, he immediately called for the warrant, tore it, and dismissed the Marquis and the lieutenant somewhat abruptly. After this, about the 28th of June, the Earl, upon promise of concealing from his brethren in Scotland the hard treatment he had met

* Memoirs of the Duke of Hamilton.

† Rushworth's History, vol. I. Oldmixon, vol. I.

with from the King, and of contributing his endeavours to dispose them to peace, was liberated from his confinement, and allowed to return home.

But things being now ripe for a new war, the King put himself at the head of an army, in order to suppress the Scots. On the other hand, the Scots resolved not to be behind in their preparations, and entered England with a great army, mostly of veteran troops, of whom many had served in Germany under Gustavus Adolphus.*—A party of the King's forces disputed the passage of the Tyne, but were defeated at Newburn; whereupon the Scots took Newcastle and Berwick, and pushed their way as far as Durham. In all this the Earl of Loudon acted no mean part; for he not only gained upon the citizens of Edinburgh and other places, to contribute money and other necessaries, for the use and supply of the Scots army, but also commanded a brigade of horse, with whom, in the foresaid skirmish at Newburn, he had no small share of the victory. The King retired to York; and finding himself environed on all hands, appointed commissioners to treat with the Scots a second time. On the other side, the Scots nominated the Earls of Dunfermline, Rothes, and Loudon, with some gentlemen, and Messrs. Henderson and Johnston, advocates for the Church, as their commissioners for the treaty. The two parties, upon October 1st, 1640, met at Rippon; where, after agreeing to some articles for a cessation of arms during three months, the treaty was transferred to London. To this the Scots commissioners consented upon a patent granted from the King for their safe conduct, and went thither. And because great hopes were entertained by friends in England, from their presence and influence at London, the Committee at Newcastle appointed Mr. Robert Blair, for his dexterity in dealing with the Independents; Mr. Robert Baillie, for his eminence in managing the Arminian controversy; and Mr. George Gillespie, for his nervous and pithy confutation of the English ceremonies, to accompany the three noblemen, as their chaplains: Messrs. Smith and Borthwick followed soon after.

After this treaty, things went on smoothly for some time in Scotland; but the King not relishing the proceedings of the English parliament, made a tour next year to Scotland, and attended the parliament there. To this parliament, previous to the King's arrival, Traquair, Montrose, and several other incendiaries, had been cited for stirring up strife between the King and his subjects, and for undoing the covenanters. Some of them appeared and some appeared not. In the meanwhile, the noble Earl of Loudon said so much in favour of some of them, discharging so effectually all the duties laid on him last year by the King, that some, forgetting the obligation he came under to steer with an even hand, began to suspect him of changing sides, so that he was well nigh left out of the commission to England, with the parliament's agreement to the treaty

* See Dr. Welwood's Memoirs.

So much did this offend his Lordship, that he supplicated the parliament to be examined with respect to his past conduct and negotiations, and if they found him faithful; which grieved the members of the House very much. The House declared, indeed, that he had behaved himself faithfully and wisely in all his public employments, and that he not only deserved to have an act of approbation, but likewise to be rewarded by the Estates, that their favours and his merit might be known to posterity. They further considered that the loss of such an eminent instrument could not be easily supplied. The English dealt not so freely with any of our commissioners, as with Lord Loudon; nor did ever any of our commissioners use so much ingenuous freedom with his Majesty as he did; and he behaved once more to return to London, with the treaty, newly revised by the parliament, and subscribed by the Lord President and others.

After the return of the commissioners, the King being arrived in parliament, they began to dignify several of the Scots nobility with offices of state; and because a Lord Treasurer was wanting, it was moved, that none did deserve that office so well as the Earl of Loudon, who had done so much for his country. But the King, judging more wisely, and thinking it was more difficult to find a fit person for the Chancery, resolved to make the Earl of London Chancellor, contrary both to his own inclination, for he was never ambitious of preferment, and to the solicitation of his friends. And to make amends for the smallness of his fees, an annual pension of £1000 was added to his office.

Accordingly, upon the 2d of October 1642, this Noble Lord did solemnly, in the face of the parliament, on his bended knees, before the throne, first swear the oath of allegiance, then that of a privy counsellor, and lastly, when the great seal, which for two years had been kept by the Marquis of Hamilton, was with the mace delivered to him out of his Majesty's hand, the oath *de fidei administratione officii*. He was then, by the Lion King at Arms, placed in the seat under his Majesty's feet, on the right hand of the Lord President of parliament; and from thence immediately arose, and prostrating himself before the King, said "Preferment comes neither from the east nor from the west, but from God alone. I acknowledge, I have this from your Majesty as from God's vicegerent upon earth, and the fountain of all earthly honour here, and I will endeavour to answer that expectation your Majesty has of me, and to deserve the good-will of this Honourable House, in faithfully discharging what you both (without desert of mine) have put upon me." And, kissing his Majesty's hand, he retired to his seat.

This was a notable turn of affairs from the hand of providence; for behold! he who last year, for the cause of Christ and love of his country, in all submission, received from his sovereign the message of death, is now, for his great wisdom and prudence, advanced by the same authority to the helm of the highest affairs in the kingdom; which verifies what the wise man saith, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and before honour is humility.* Prov. xv. 33.

As soon as advanced to this office and dignity, he not only began to exert his power for the utility and welfare of his own country, but even next year, went up to London, and importuned his Majesty to call his English parliament, as the most expedient way to bring about a firm and lasting peace betwixt the two kingdoms. And although not one of the commissioners sent up from Parliament and the Assembly of the church of Scotland, in 1643, yet it is evident from a letter received from them while at London, bearing the date of January 6th, 1645. that he was amongst them there, using his utmost endeavours for bringing about that happy uniformity of religion, in doctrine, discipline, and church government, which took place and was established at that time.

And next year, before the King surrendered himself to the Scots army at Newcastle, Lord London being sent as commissioner to him, after Lord Leven, at the head of one hundred officers in the army, had presented a petition upon their knees, beseeching his Majesty to give them satisfaction in point of religion, and to take the covenant, he in plain terms, accosted the King thus; "The difference between your Majesty and your parliament is grown to such an height, that, after many bloody battles, they have your Majesty, with all your garrisons and strong holds, in their hands. They are in a capacity now to do what they will in church and state; and some are afraid, and others unwilling to proceed to extremities, till they know your Majesty's last resolution. Now, Sire, if your Majesty refuse your assent to the propositions, you will lose all your friends in the House and in the city, and all England shall join against you as one man; they will depose you, and set up another government; they will charge us to deliver your Majesty to them, and remove our arms out of England; and upon your refusal, we will be obliged to settle religion and peace without you; which will ruin your Majesty and your posterity. We own, the propositions are higher in some things than we approve of, but the only way to establish your Majesty is to consent to them at present. Your Majesty may recover, in a time of peace, all that you have lost in a time of tempest and trouble." Whether or not the King found him a true prophet in all this, may be left to history to determine.

He was again employed on a similar errand to the King, in 1648, but with no better success, as appears from two excellent speeches to the Scots parliament at his return, concerning these proceedings. And in the same year, in the month of June, he was with a handful of covenanters at a communion at Mauchline muir, where they were set upon by Callender and Middleton's forces, after they had given his Lordship their promise to the contrary.

Although this noble Earl, through the influence of the Earl of Lanark, had at first given his consent to the King, who was setting on foot an army for his own rescue, yet he came to be among those who protested against the Duke of Hamilton's unlawful engagement. To account some way for this,—He had previously received a promise of a gift of tiends, and a gift sometimes blindeth the eyes; and especially might be expected to have this effect on a nobleman whose

estate was at the time somewhat burdened; but by conversing with some of the protesters, who discovered to him his mistake, he was so convinced that this was contrary to his trust, that he subscribed an admonition to more steadfastness, for the Commission of the Church, in the high church of Edinburgh.

But at length Charles I. being executed, and his son Charles II. called home by the Scots, a new scene began to appear in 1650; for malignants being then brought again into places of power and trust, it behoved the Lord Chancellor (who never was a friend to malignants) to demit. He had now for nearly ten years presided in parliament, and had been highly instrumental in the hand of the Lord, to establish in this nation, both in church and state, the purest reformation that ever was established in any country under the New Testament dispensation; but he was now turned out and Earl Burleigh substituted in his place.

In what manner he was employed during the time of Cromwell's usurpation, there is no certain account; only it is probable, that notwithstanding the many struggles he had in asserting the King's interest, he mostly lived a private life, as most of the noblemen and gentlemen of the nation did during that time.

But no sooner was the King restored to his dominions, than these lands returned back unto the old vomit of Popery, Prelacy, and Slavery; and it is impossible to express the grief of heart this godly nobleman sustained, when he not only beheld the carved work of the sanctuary cut down in the defacing of the glorious structure of reformation, which he had such an eminent hand in directing and building up, but also to find himself at the King's mercy for his accession to the same. He knew, that, next to the Marquis of Argyle, he was the butt of the enemy's malice, and he had frequently applied for his Majesty's grace, but was as often refused; so that the violent courses now carrying on, and the obvious invasions upon the liberties and religion of the nation, made him weary of his life; and being then at Edinburgh, he often exhorted his excellent lady to pray fast, that he might never see the next session of parliament, else he might follow his dear friend the Marquis of Argyle; and the Lord was pleased to grant his request: for he died, in a most Christian manner, at Edinburgh, March 15th, 1652, and his corpse was carried home, and interred with his ancestors.

The most exaggerated praise that can at present be bestowed on this renowned patriot and worthy, must be far below his merit, he was possessed of such prudence, eloquence, learning, and courage. Which excellent endowments he invariably applied himself to the support of our ancient and admirable constitution, which he maintained upon all hazards and occasions; on which account he might be truly accounted the chief advocate, both for the civil and religious liberties of the people. To sum up all in a few words; he was a most exquisite orator in the senate, a refined politician, an honour to his name, an ornament to this nation; and in every virtue, in politic, social, and domestic life, a pattern to be imitated. And although

HIS OFFSPRING* have hitherto all along retained a sense of their civil liberties, yet it is to be lamented, that few or none of our noblemen at this day follow his example.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE was born at Glasgow in the year 1599. His father was a citizen there, being lineally descended from Baillie of Jerviston, a member of the house of Carphin, and a branch of the ancient house of Lamington, all in the county of Lanark; and by his mother's side he was of the same stock with the Gibsons of Durie, who have made such a figure in the law. He received his education at Glasgow, and at that university plied his studies so hard, that by his industry and genius, he attained the knowledge of twelve or thirteen languages, and could write a Latin style, which, in the opinion of the learned, might well become the Augustan age.

After his study of divinity, he took orders from Archbishop Law, about the year 1622, and was soon after presented by the Earl of Eglington to the church of Kilwinning. When the reformation began in 1637, he wanted not his own difficulties, from his tenderness of the King's authority, to see through some of the measures then taken. — Yet, after reasoning, reading, and prayer, as he himself informs us, he came heartily into the covenanters' interest about that time.

Being a man of solid judgment, he was often employed in the public business of the Church. In 1638, he was chosen by his own presbytery, to be member of the memorable Assembly held at Glasgow, where he behaved himself with great wisdom and moderation.

He was also one of those who attended as chaplains to the army in 1639 and 1640, and was present during the whole treaty begun at Rippon, and concluded at London. What comfort he had in these things, he describes in these words: "As for myself, I never found my mind in a better temper than it was all that time, from my outset until my head was again homeward. I was one who had taken leave of the world, and resolved to die in that service. I found the favour of God shining on me, and a sweet, meek, and humble, yet strong and vehement spirit, leading me along." The same year, 1640, he was by the covenanting lords sent to London, to draw up an accusation against Archbishop Laud, for the innovations he had obtruded upon the Church of Scotland.

* His son James Earl of Loudon suffered much after his father's death during the persecuting period; and at last was obliged to leave his native country, and died an exile at Leyden, after having endured a series of hardships. And there are recent instances of the truly noble and independent spirit for liberty this worthy family have all along retained, which, we doubt not, will be transmitted to their posterity.

He was translated from Kilwinning to be professor of divinity at Glasgow, when Mr. David Dickson was translated from thence to the divinity chair at Edinburgh. He was one of the commissioners sent from the Church of Scotland, to the Westminster Assembly in 1645, where he remained almost during the whole time of that Assembly. And after they rose, as an acknowledgment for his good services, the parliament of England made him a handsome present of silver plate, with an inscription, signifying it to be a token of their high respect for him. This not long since was to be seen in the house of Carnbroe, being carefully preserved; and perhaps it remains there to this day.

By his first wife, Lillias Fleming, he had one son and four daughters; by his second wife, Principal Strang's daughter, he had one daughter who was married to Walkinshaw of Barrowfield.

About this time he was a great confident of the Marquis of Argyle, the Earls of Cassillis, Eglinton, Lauderdale, and Loudon, Lord Balmerino, and Sir Archibald Johnston, Lord Warriston, with others of the chief men among the covenanters. He thus obtained the most exact knowledge of the transactions of that time, which he has carefully collected in his letters: as he himself says, there was no one from whom his correspondent could get a more full narrative of the events under Cromwell's usurpation. He joined with the party called resolutioners, and composed several of the papers belonging to that side, in 1661. He was, by Lauderdale's interest, made principal of the College of Glasgow, upon the removal of Mr. Patrick Gillespie. About this time, it is also said, he had a bishopric offered him; but that he refused it, because, says the writer of his life prefixed to his letters, he did not choose to enter into a dispute with those with whom he had formerly lived in friendship. But this was only a sly way of wounding an amiable character; for Mr. Baillie continued firmly attached to Presbyterian government, and stood in opposition to Prelacy, to his very last. Several instances could be brought to this effect, but a few excerpts from some of his own letters, particularly one to Lauderdale a little before his death,* may effectually wipe away that reproach. "Having the occasion of this bearer, I tell you my heart is broken with grief, and I find the burden of the public weighty, and hastening me to my grave. What need you do that disservice to the King, which all of you cannot recompense, to grieve the hearts of all your godly friends in Scotland, with pulling down all our laws at once, which concerned our Church since 1633? Was this good advice, or will it thrive? Is it wisdom to bring back upon us the Canterburian times, the same designs, the same practices? Will they not bring on the same effects, whatever fools dream?" And again, in the same letter downward, he says, "My Lord, you are the nobleman in all the world I love best, and esteem most. I think I may say, I write to you what I please. If you have gone with your heart to forsake

* See this and another of his letters to Lauderdale, Wodrow's History, Vol. L

your covenant ; to countenance the re-introduction of bishops and books, and strengthen the King by your advice in these things, I think you a prime transgressor, and liable among the first to answer for that great sin," &c. And when the archbishop came to visit him when on his death-bed, he would not so much as give him the appellation of Lord : yea, it appears, that the introduction of Prelacy was a mean of bringing on his death, as seems evident from his last public letter to his cousin Mr. Spang, dated May 1, 1662, some weeks before his death.—After some account of the west country ministers being called in to Edinburgh, he says, "The guise is now, the bishops will trouble no man, but the states will punish seditious ministers. This poor Church is in the most hard taking that ever we have seen. This is my daily grief ; this hath brought all my bodily trouble on me, and is like to do me more harm."—And very shortly after that, in the month of July, he got to his rest and reward, being aged sixty-three years.

Mr. Robert Baillie may very justly, for his profound and universal learning, exact and solid judgment, be accounted amongst the great men of his time. He was an honour to his country, and his works do praise him in the gates ; among these are, his Scripture Chronology, written in Latin ; his Canterburian Self-conviction ; his Parallel, or comparison of the Liturgy with the Mass-book ; his dissuasive against the Errors of the Times ; and a large manuscript collection of historical papers and letters, consisting of four volumes folio, beginning at the year 1637, and ending at the Restoration, never hitherto published. To him is by some ascribed that book entitled, *Historia notum in regno Scotiae, annis 1634—1640* : and if he was the author of that, then also, of another anonymous paper, called a Short relation of the State of the Kirk of Scotland, from the Reformation of religion to the month of October 1628. For, from the preface to the last mentioned book, it appears, that both were written by the same hand. He also wrote Laudensium, an antidote against Arminianism ; a Reply to the Modest Inquirer, with other Tracts, and some Sermons on other occasions.

In the life and now published letters of Principal Baillie we have a striking proof of human frailty. Nay more, it is evident from these that even great and good men will sometimes be biassed in judgment, and prejudiced in mind against others more faithful than themselves. For instance those very noblemen and ministers to whom he gives the highest praise, as being the prime instruments in God's hand for carrying on the work of reformation betwixt 1638 and 1649, no sooner became remonstrants, than he not only represents them to be of a character such as I shall forbear to mention, but even gives us a very diminutive view of their most faithful contendings in that time, which no doubt adds nothing to the credit of the last ten years of his history ; and all from a mistaken view of the controversy betwixt those protestors and his own party the resolutioners ; taking all the divisions and calamities that befell the Church, state, and army, at the time, to proceed from the protestors not concurring with them : whereas it was just the reverse. The taking

of Charles II. that atheistical wretch, and his malignant faction, into the bosom of the Church, proved the Achan in the camp, that brought all these evils upon the Church, state, and army, at and since that time. These protestors could not submit their consciences to the arbitrary dictates of the public resolutioners; they could not agree to violate their almost newly sworn covenant by approving of the admission of these wicked malignants into public places of power and trust; in defence of which many of them faced the gibbet, banishment, imprisonment, and other excruciating hardships: whereas several hundreds of the resolutioners, on the very first blast of temptation, involved themselves in fearful apostacy and perjury; some of them became violent persecutors of these their faithful brethren, and not a few of them absolute monsters of iniquity. The dreadful effects of this have almost ruined both church and state in these lands; and perhaps this same malignant faction will utterly do it at last, if the Lord in mercy prevent not.



DAVID DICKSON.

MR. DICKSON was born about the year 1583. He was the only son of Mr. John Dick, or Dickson, Merchant in Glasgow, whose father was an old feuar of some lands in the barony of Fintry, and parish of St. Ninian's, called the Kirk of the Muir. His parents were religious, of a considerable substance, and were many years married before they had Mr. David, who was their only child; and as he was a Samuel, asked of the Lord, so he was early devoted to him and the ministry; yet afterwards the vow was forgot, till Providence, by a rod, and sore sickness on their son, brought their sins to remembrance, and then he was sent to resume his studies at the University of Glasgow.

Soon after he had received the degree of Master of Arts, he was admitted professor of philosophy in that college, where he was very useful in training the youth to solid learning; and with the learned Principal Boyd of Trochrigg, the worthy Mr. Blair, and other pious members of that society, his pains were singularly blessed in reviving decayed serious piety among the youth, in that declining and corrupted time, a little after the imposition of Prelacy upon the Church. Here, by a recommendation of the General Assembly not long after our reformation from Popery, the regents were only to continue eight years in their profession; after which, such as were found qualified were licensed, and upon a call, after trial, were admitted to the holy ministry; by which constitution the Church came to be filled with ministers well seen in all the branches of useful learning. Accordingly, Mr. Dickson was, in 1618, ordained minister to the town of Irvine, where he laboured for about twenty-three years.

That same year, the corrupt Assembly at Perth agreed to the five articles imposed upon them by the King and the prelates. Mr. Dickson at first had no great scruple against Episcopacy, as he had not studied these questions much, till the articles were imposed by this meeting, and then he closely examined them: and the more he looked into them, the more aversion he found to them; and when, some time after, by a sore sickness, he was brought within views of death and eternity, he gave open testimony of the sinfulness of them.

But when this came to the air, Mr. James Law, Archbishop of Glasgow, summoned him to appear before the High Commission Court, Jan. 9th, 1622. Mr. Dickson at his entrance to the ministry at Irvine, preached upon 2 Cor. v. 11. the first part, *Knowing the terror of the Lord we persuade men*: and when he perceived, at this juncture, a separation at least for a time, he, on the Sabbath before his compearance, chose for his text the words immediately following, *But we are made manifest unto God*. Extraordinary power and singular movings of the affections accompanied that sermon.*

Mr. Dickson having appeared before the Commission, the summons being read, after some reasoning among the Bishops, gave in his declinature. Upon this, some of them whispered in his ear, as if they favoured him upon the good report they had heard of his

* Sometime previous to his compearance before the Commission, Mr. Dickson was called before the Bishop of Glasgow, when a conversation ensued of which a most interesting and characteristic detail is given by Calderwood. His narrative is in substance as follows:

On the 6th of December 1622, Mr. Dickson being in Glasgow, the Bishop sent for him, and showed him that he had received a letter from the King to take order with him and some others, not only because they had not fulfilled the articles of Perth by practising the ceremonies therein enjoined, but also because they had done what lay in them at last parliament to prevent the enacting of these articles by the civil legislature. He alleged he was loath to trouble him because he was diligent in his ministry. Yet as the matter so stood, it behoved that either he or himself should be deposed. Mr. Dickson answered, "If ye trouble me, I trust in God I shall have peace in my suffering." The Bishop then requested to know his reasons, wondering that one who had taught philosophy should take such a course, in not obeying the articles in question. Mr. Dickson then said, "The first reason why I may not obey these, is because there is no reason wherefore they should be commanded." The Bishop answered, that in reference to the substance of religion that might hold, but not with regard to ceremonies. Mr. Dickson replied, "that in matters civil which concern temporal loss or gain, the not seeing a reason for the commandment is not a sufficient reason to disobey, yet in matters that concern Christ's kirk, religion, and the worship of God, whether in substance or in ceremony, whatsoever is imposed on the flock of Christ universally, and to be practised ordinarily and solemnly in and about the worship of God, and may not be emitted, must either have a known and sufficient reason for the injunction of it, or else a man may lawfully refuse to give obedience to it." After having thus debated the question for some time, the Bishop again threatened him. Mr. Dickson said that he had entered the ministry previously to the date of the assembly at Perth, and since that time had been considering the controversies of our kirk as the Lord enabled him, and found that with a safe conscience he could not obey these injunctions, but was ready by the grace of God to suffer whatever flesh and blood could do unto him.

ministry, "Take it up, take it up."—But he answered calmly, "I laid it not down to take it up again." Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews, asked if he would subscribe it. He professed himself ready. The clerk, at the Bishop's desire, began to read it; but had scarcely read three lines, when the Bishop burst forth in railing speeches full of gall and bitterness; and turning to Mr. Dickson, said, "These men will speak of humility and meekness, and talk of the Spirit of God, but ye are led by the spirit of the devil: there is more pride in you, I dare say, than in all the Bishops of Scotland. I hanged a Jesuit in Glasgow for the like fault." Mr. Dickson answered, "I am not a rebel; I stand here as the King's subject, grant me the benefit of the law, and the right of a subject, and I crave no more." But the Bishop seemed to take no notice of these words. Aberdeen then asked him, "whether he would obey the King or not?" He answered, "I will obey the King in all things in the Lord." "I told you that," said Glasgow, "I knew he would seek for a limitation." Aberdeen asked again, "May not the King give the authority, which we have, to as many sutors and tailors in Edinburgh, to sit, and see whether you be doing your duty or not?" Mr. Dickson said, "My declinature will answer to that." The Archbishop then fell to railing again, "The devil," said he, "will devise, he has scripture enough;" and then calling him knave, swinger, &c.; he said, that he ought to have been teaching bairns in the school: "thou knowest what Aristotle saith," said he, "but thou hast no theology." On perceiving that Mr. Dickson gave him no title, but merely called him Sir, he gnashed his teeth, and said, "Sir, you might have called me Lord; when I was in Glasgow long since you called me so, but I cannot tell how, you are become a puritan now." During all this Mr. Dickson stood silent, and upon one occasion lifted up his eyes to heaven, which St. Andrews called a proud look. And after some more reasoning, betwixt him and the Bishops, the Bishop pronounced sentence in these words: "We deprive you of your ministry at Irvine, and ordain you to enter in Turreff, in the north, in twenty days." "The will of the Lord be done," said Mr. Dickson, "though ye cast me off, the Lord will take me up. Send me whither ye will, I hope my Master will go with me; and as he has been with me heretofore, he will be with me still, as being his own weak servant."

He continued to preach till the twenty days were expired, and then began his journey. But the Earl of Eglinton prevailed with the Bishop of Glasgow, to allow him to come to Eglinton, and preach there. Thither he came accordingly, but the people from all quarters resorting to his sermons in Eglinton's hall and court yard, he enjoyed that liberty only two months; the Bishop sent him another charge, and he forthwith went to the place of his confinement.

While in Turreff, he was daily employed to preach by Mr. Mitchell, minister of that place. But here he found far greater difficulty both in studying and preaching than formerly. After the lapse of some time, his friends prevailed with the Bishop of Glasgow to re-pone him, upon condition he would take back his declinature, and for

that purpose wrote Mr. Dickson to come to Glasgow. He came as desired; but though many wise and gracious persons urged him to yield, he could not be persuaded, yea: at last it was granted, that if he, or any friend he pleased, would go to the Bishop's castle, and either lift the paper, or suffer his friend to take it off the hall-table, without seeing the Bishop at all, he might return to Irvine. But he found even this to be but a juggling in a matter so weighty in point of public testimony, and resolved to meddle no farther in the business, but to return to his confinement. Accordingly he began his journey, and was scarcely a mile out of town, when his soul was filled with great joy and a sense of God's approbation, as to what he had done.

Some time after, by the continual intercession of the Earl of Eglington and the town of Irvine with the Bishop, liberty was obtained to send for him, with a promise, that he should be allowed to stay till the King himself challenged him. Thus he returned to his flock without any condition on his part, about the end of July, 1623.

While at Irvine, his ministry was singularly countenanced of God, and multitudes were convinced and converted. Few who lived in his day were more instrumental in this work, so that people under exercise and soul concern, came from every quarter about Irvine, and attended his sermons; and the most eminent Christians from all corners of the church, joined at his communions, which were times of great refreshing from the presence of the Lord. Yea, not a few came from distant places and settled at Irvine, that they might be under the drop of his ministry; yet in the exercise of genuine humility he observed, that the vintage of Irvine was not equal to the gleanings of Ayr in Mr. Welch's time. In addition to his labours on Sabbath, he commonly had a weekly sermon upon Monday, which was the market day at Irvine. Upon Sabbath evenings after sermon, many persons under soul distress used to resort to his house, when usually he spent an hour or two in hearing their cases, and in directing and comforting those who were in doubt or despondency. In this department of his work he had an extraordinary talent; indeed, he in a special manner had the tongue of the learned, and knew well how to speak a word in season to the weary soul. In a large hall which was in his house, there would sometimes have been scores of serious Christians waiting for him after he came from church. These, with the people from the country who came to market, made the church as throng on the Mondays, as on the Lord's day; and by these week-day sermons, the famous Stewartown sickness (as it was called) was begun about the year 1630, and spread from house to house for many miles in the valley, where Stewartown water runs. Satan indeed endeavoured to bring a reproach upon those who were at this time under the convincing work of the Spirit, by driving some of them to excess, both in time of sermon and in families. But the Lord enabled Mr. Dickson, and others who dealt with them, to act such a prudent part, that Satan's design was in a great measure frustrated, and solid, serious practical religion flourished greatly

about this time, under the hardships of Prelacy, in the west of Scotland.

About the year 1630 and 1631, some Scots ministers, viz. Livingstone, Blair, and others, were settled among the Scots in the north of Ireland, and were remarkably owned of the Lord in their ministry and communions about the Six-mile water, for reviving religion in its power and practice. But the Irish Bishops, at the instigation of the prelates in Scotland, forced these worthy men to remove for a season. After they were come over to Scotland accordingly, about the year 1637, Mr. Dickson employed Messrs. Blair, Livingstone, and Cunningham, at his communion, and for which he was called before the High Commission; but the prelates' power being now on the decline, he very soon got rid of that trouble.

Several other instances might here be given of Mr. Dickson's usefulness in answering perplexing cases of conscience, and to students who had a view to the ministry; as also of his usefulness to his very enemies, but there is little room left to mention these particulars.

In 1637, Mr. Dickson brought over the presbytery of Irvine to supplicate the Council for a suspension of the Service book. At this time four supplications from different quarters, met at the Council-house door anent the same subject, to their mutual surprise and encouragement; and these were the small beginnings of that happy turn of affairs which soon after ensued. In that great revolution, Mr. Dickson had no small share. He was sent to Aberdeen, with Messrs. Henderson and Cant, by the covenanters, to persuade that town and county to join in renewing the covenant, and was thus led to take a great part in the debates with the learned Doctors Forbes, Barrow, and Sibbald, in that quarter. These being in print, need no farther notice at present. Again, when the King was prevailed on to allow the free General Assembly at Glasgow, in November 1638, Mr. Dickson and Mr. Baillie, from the presbytery, made no small figure there in all the important matters that came before it. Mr. Dickson signalized himself, by a most seasonable and prudent speech, when his Majesty's Commissioner threatened to leave the Assembly; as also, in the 11th Session, December 5th, by another most learned discourse against Arminianism.*

By this time, the Lord's special countenancing of Mr. Dickson's ministry at Irvine, and his great prudence, learning, and holy zeal, came to be universally known, especially to ministers, so that he was almost unanimously chosen Moderator to the next General Assembly at Edinburgh, in August 1639, and in the 10th session of this Assembly, the city of Glasgow presented to him a call; but partly because of his own aversion, and the vigorous opposition of the Earl of Eglinton and his loving people, and mostly on account of the

* See the first discourse in Stevenson's History, p. 502.; and the last in the Assembly Journal

known remarkable usefulness of his ministry in that quarter, the General Assembly continued him at Irvine.

Not long after this, however, about the year 1641, he was transported to be professor of divinity in the University of Glasgow, where he not only did great service to the church by training up young men for the holy ministry, but also, notwithstanding his laborious work, preached on the forenoon of every Sabbath, in the High church, in which office he for some time had the learned Mr. Patrick Gillespie for his colleague.

In 1643, the church imposed a very heavy task upon him, together with Messrs. Calderwood and Henderson, viz. to form a draught of a directory for public worship. In 1647, whilst the pestilence was raging at Glasgow, the masters and students, upon Mr. Dickson's motion, removed to Irvine. Here it was the learned Mr. Durham passed his trials, and was earnestly recommended by the professor to the presbytery and magistrates of Glasgow. A very strict friendship consequently subsisted between those two great lights of the church; and among other results of their religious conversation, we have "The sum of Saving Knowledge," a tract which is generally printed with our Confession of Faith and Catechisms. This we are informed, after several conversations upon the subject, and especially as to the manner of handling it, so as to make it useful to vulgar capacities, was by Messrs. Dickson and Durham, dictated about the year 1650; and though never judicially approved by the church, it certainly deserves to be much more read and practised than what it at present is.

About this time he was transported from the profession of divinity at Glasgow, to the same work at Edinburgh, and shortly after published his *Prælectiones in confessionem fidei*, now printed in English, which he dictated in Latin to his scholars. At Edinburgh he continued his wonted laborious care of the students; and either there or at Glasgow, was honoured to have the most part of the Presbyterian ministers, afterwards in the west, south, and east parts of Scotland, from 1640, under his inspection. From the fore-mentioned book, we may perceive how great was his care to educate them in the form of sound words, and to ground them in the excellent standards agreed to by the church of Scotland; and happy had their successors been, had they preserved and handed down to posterity, the scriptural doctrines pure and entire, as delivered by our first reformers to Mr. Dickson and his contemporaries, and by him and them handed down without corruption to their successors.

About the year 1650 and 1651, Mr. Dickson had a great share in the printed pamphlets betwixt the resolutioners and protestors; he was, in his opinion for the resolutioners; and most of the papers on that side were written either by him, Mr. Baillie, or Mr. Douglas; as those on the other side were written by Mr. James Guthrie, Mr. Patrick Gillespie, and a few others.

Mr. Dickson continued at Edinburgh, discharging his trust with great diligence and faithfulness, until the melancholy restoration of Prelacy, upon the return of Charles II.; when, for refusing the oath of

supremacy, he was with many other worthies turned out of his living, and seemed as if his heart was broken with the sad change on the face of the once famed reformed church.

He was now encumbered with the cares of a family; he had married Margaret Robertson, daughter to Archibald Robertson of Stonehall, a younger brother of the house of Ernock, in the shire of Lanark. By her he had three sons; John, clerk to the Exchequer of Scotland; Alexander, professor of Hebrew in the college of Edinburgh; and Archibald, who lived with his family afterwards in the parish of Irvine.

On December 1662 he fell extremely sick, at which time the worthy Mr. Livingstone, now suffering for the same cause, though he had only forty-eight hours to stay in Edinburgh, came to see him on his deathbed. They had been intimately acquainted for nearly forty years, and now rejoiced as fellow confessors together. When Mr. Livingstone asked the professor, what were his thoughts of the present affairs, and how it was with himself, his answer was, "That he was sure Jesus Christ would not put up with the indignities done to his work and people;" and as for himself, said he, "I have taken all my good deeds and all my bad deeds, and have cast them together in a heap before the Lord, and have fled from both to Jesus Christ, and in him I have sweet peace."*

Having been very low and weak for some days, he called all his family together, and spoke to each of them in particular; and having gone through them all, he pronounced the words of the apostolical blessing, 2 Cor. xiii. 13, 14. with much gravity and solemnity, and then putting up his hand, closed his own eyes, and, without any struggle, or apparent pain, immediately expired in his son's arms. Like Jacob of old, he was gathered to his people in a good old age, being now upwards of seventy-two years.

He was a man endowed with a singularly edifying gift of preaching; and his labours had been, in an eminent manner, blessed with success.† His sermons were always full of solid and substantial

* See Mr Livingston's Memorable Characteristics, p. 81.

† Nor was it merely in his public labours that this great and good man was characterized by zeal and blessed with success in his Master's work. He seems to have been ever on the alert to promote that work, whether "in season or out of season;" and even on occasions, which by many would be deemed the least likely, his efforts, it would appear, were attended by success. The following anecdotes, in point, which have been communicated to the Editor by a clerical friend, intimately acquainted with the histories of the Worthies, and whose name, were he permitted to mention it, would add authority to the work, will be read with interest.

On one occasion, when riding between Glasgow and Edinburgh, Mr. Dickson was attacked by robbers. And though it would perhaps be too much to say that in such a situation he was altogether free from alarm, yet such, notwithstanding, was his courage and self-command, supported no doubt by a steadfast faith in the protection of that God whose servant he was, that instead of giving way to fear, he addressed them boldly with respect to their souls; and was thus, it is said, the happy though it might be remote instrument of their conversion.

matter, very scriptural, and in a very familiar style; not low but extremely strong and affecting, being somewhat akin to the style of the godly Mr. Rutherford. It is said, that scarcely any minister of that time came so near to Mr. Dickson's style or method of preaching, as Mr. Guthrie of Fenwick, who equalled, if not exceeded him.

His works are, a Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, in 8vo; on Matthew's Gospel, in 4to; on the Psalms of David, in 8vo; on the Epistles, in Latin and English, 4to; and his *Prælectiones in confessionem fidei*, or Truth's Victory over Error, &c., in folio; his *Therapeutica Sacra*; or, Cases of conscience resolved, in Latin, 4to, in English, 8vo; and a Treatise on the Promises, 12mo, printed at Dublin, in 1630. Besides these, he wrote a great part of the Answers to the Demands, and Duplies to the Replies of the Doctors of Aberdeen, in 4to.; and some of the pamphlets in defence of the public resolutioners, as has been already observed; and some short poems on pious and serious subjects, such as, the Christian Sacrifice, True Christian Love, to be sung with the common tunes of the Psalms. There are also several other pieces of his, mostly in manuscript, such as his *Tyrones concionaturi*, supposed to be dictated to his scholars at Glasgow; *Summarium libri Jesaiæ*; his Letters on the Resolutioners; his first paper on the public Resolutions; his Replies to Mr. Gillespie and Mr. James Guthrie; his Non-separation from the well-affected in the Army; as also some sermons at Irvine, upon 1 Tim. i. 5.; and his Precepts for the Daily Direction of a Christian, &c. by way of Catechism, for his congregation at Irvine; with a Compend of his Sermons upon Jeremiah and the Lamentations, and the first nine chapters to the Romans.

"He had also a very eminent gift of spiritual conversation," says a very serious Christian, (Mr. James Mitchell near Irvine.) "I happened to travel from Glasgow to Falkirk in company with Mr. Dickson, and having taken occasion, from the brightness of the day, to speak of the glories of heaven, he, after relating part of his own experiences, proceeded to show how men's own righteousness is often a bar in their way of believing the Gospel of Christ, and to prove, from the first part of the Epistle to the Romans, that only justification through the imputed righteousness of Christ was suited to our sinful and miserable state by nature, that it is the only way to pacify our consciences and reconcile us to God, fill us with joy, promote our true sanctification of nature and life, and make us triumph over the accusations of Satan and the fears of death, Rom. viii. 1. Oh, how his discourse, especially as I caused him to repeat it, penetrated into my very heart; upon which Mr. Dickson and I halted a little, and solemnly thanked the Lord for his amazing mercy and kindness to me."

Such facts are certainly not sufficient to justify every individual in acting similarly in similar circumstances, and with a view to the like results. Nor are they intended to suggest any such conclusion. But certainly, with others of a like tendency, they may serve to show, that by the agency of men distinguished for their graces and gifts, God is pleased sometimes to bring about results, which, when contrasted with the circumstances in which, or the means by which, they are accomplished, seem to be almost miraculous.

SIR ARCHIBALD JOHNSTON, LORD WARRISTON.

Of the early and private life of this excellent nobleman little information, it appears, has been transmitted. The first of his public appearances in favour of the glorious work of reformation, commonly called the second reformation, was about the beginning of 1638. When it was understood that Traquair was going up to the King, the deputies, afterwards called the covenanters, were desirous that he should carry up an information, which the Lord Balmerino and Mr. Johnston (afterwards Lord Warriston) the only advocates as yet trusted by the petitioners, had drawn up, and present the same, with their supplication, to his Majesty. But both of these being rejected, and orders given to Traquair, to publish a proclamation at Edinburgh and Stirling, against the requisitions of the covenanters, sixteen of the nobles, with many barons, gentlemen, burgesses, and ministers, did, after hearing said proclamation, cause Mr. Johnston read a protest against it. And the same year, when the Marquis of Hamilton published another declaration, in name of the King, the covenanters upon hearing it, gave another protestation in the same place by Mr. Johnston; whereupon the Earl of Cassillis, in name of the nobility; Gibson of Durie, in name of the barons; Fletcher, provost of Dundee, in name of the burgesses; Mr. Kerr, minister of Preston, in name of the church; and Mr. Johnston, in name of all others who adhered to the covenant, took instruments in the hands of three notaries, and, in all humility, offered a copy of the same to the herald at the cross of Edinburgh.*

In the same year, when the famous General Assembly sat down at Glasgow, in the month of November, Mr. Henderson being chosen moderator, it was moved, that Mr. Johnston, who had hitherto served the tables of petitioners at Edinburgh without reward, and with great diligence, skill, and integrity, deserved the office of clerk. After much reasoning, concerning him and some others put on the lect, the roll was called, on a vote for clerk, and carried unanimously for Mr. Johnston, who then gave his oath for fidelity, diligence, and a conscientious use of the registers; and was admitted to all the rights, profits, and privileges, which that office had hitherto enjoyed.

Being thus installed, the moderator desired, that all who had any acts or books of former Assemblies, would put them into his hands; whereupon Mr. Sandihills (formerly clerk) exhibited two books, containing some acts from 1592 to that of Aberdeen, in 1618, &c.; and being interrogated concerning the rest, he solemnly averred, that he had received no more from the Archbishop, and, to his knowledge, he had no other belonging to the church. A farther motion being then made by the Assembly, towards recovering the

* See farther of these declarations and protests in Stevenson's *History of Church and State*, p. 361.

rest wanting, and that if any had them, they should immediately give them up; Mr. Johnston gave evidence how deserving he was of the trust reposed in him, by producing on the table five books, being now seven in all, which were sufficient to make up a register of the church from the beginning of the reformation; a circumstance which was very agreeable to the whole Assembly.

In the 24th session of this Assembly, a commission was given to him to be their procurator, and in their last session, December 20, an act was passed, allowing him the instruction of all treaties and papers that concerned the church, and prohibiting all printers from publishing any thing of the kind, not licensed by him.

But the King, being highly displeased with the proceedings of this Assembly, and having advanced with an army towards the borders, the covenanters, seeing the danger they were exposed to, were compelled to raise another army, with which, under the command of General Leslie, they marched toward the King's, now encamped on the south side of Tweed, about three miles above Berwick. Upon their approach, the English having begun to faint, the King and the English nobility desired a treaty. This was readily granted by the Scots, who appointed the Earls of Rothes, Dunfermline, and Loudon, the Sheriff of Teviotdale, the Rev. Mr. Henderson, and Mr. Archibald Johnston, advocate for the church, as their commissioners to treat with the English, to whom his Majesty granted a safe conduct, upon the 9th of June, 1639. The Scots having made known their demands, condescended upon several particulars, which were answered by the other side; and on the 17th, and the day following, the articles of pacification were subscribed by both parties, in sight of the armies, at Kirks, near Berwick.

But this treaty was but short lived, and as ill kept: for the very next year, the King again took arms against the Scots, who also immediately armed themselves, and proceeded to England, where, having defeated a party of the English at Newburn, they pushed their way as far as Durham. The King, finding himself in a strait, the English supplicating him from behind, and the Scots with a potent army before him, resolved on a second treaty, which was set on foot at Rippon, and concluded at London: and thither Mr. Henderson and Mr. Johnston were sent as commissioners for the church; in which affair they conducted themselves with equal ability and candour. Accordingly, when the Scots parliament sat down this year, they, by an act, appointed a fee of 100 merks to Mr. Johnston as advocate for the church, and 500 merks as clerk to the General Assembly; so sensible were they of his many services done to the church and nation.

Next year, 1641, the King, having fallen out with his English parliament, came to Scotland, and attended the Scots parliament. In this parliament several offices of state were filled up with persons fit for them. The Earl of Argyle being put at the head of the treasury, and the Earl of Loudon made Chancellor; Mr. Johnston stood fair for the register office, and the generality of the well-

affected thought it the just reward of his labours; but the King, Lennox, Argyle, &c. being for Gibson of Durie, he carried the prize. Yet Mr. Johnston's disappointment was supplied by the King's conferring upon him the order of knighthood, and granting him a commission to be one of the Lords of Session, with an annual pension of £200.

During this and the next year, Mr. (now Sir) Archibald Johnston had several great employments committed to his trust. He was one of those nominated to conserve the articles of peace betwixt the two kingdoms until the meeting of parliament. And then he was appointed one of the commissioners, who were sent to London to negotiate with the English parliament, for sending some relief from Scotland to Ireland, immediately after the Irish rebellion. While at London, they waited on his Majesty at Windsor, and offered their mediation betwixt him and his two Houses of Parliament; but for this he gave them little thanks; although he found his mistake afterwards.

Again, in 1643, the General Assembly having sat down at Edinburgh, they, upon the motion of Sir Archibald Johnston, their clerk, emitted a declaration towards joining with the English parliament. For this they stated a variety of reasons, of which the following are the substance: "(1.) They apprehend the war is for religion. (2.) The protestant faith is in danger. (3.) Gratitude for the assistance in the time of the former reformation, required a suitable return. (4.) Because the churches of Scotland and England, being embarked in one bottom, if the one be ruined the other cannot subsist. (5.) The prospect of an uniformity between the two kingdoms in discipline and worship, will strengthen the Protestant interest at home and abroad. (6.) The present parliament had been friendly to the Scots and might be so again. (7.) Though the King had so lately established religion amongst them, according to their desire, yet they could not confide in his royal declaration, having so often found his actions and promises contradictory the one to the other." These reasons the Estates held in good part, and suggested others of their own, as they saw proper.

The Assembly accordingly, in pursuance of this, upon the arrival of commissioners from the Parliament and Assembly at Westminster, by an act of session 14, commissioned Messrs. Henderson, Douglas, Rutherford, Baillie, and Gillespie, ministers; John Earl of Cassilis, John Lord Maitland, and Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston, ruling elders, or any three of them, whereof two should be ministers, "to repair to the kingdom of England, and there to deliver the declaration sent to the Parliament of England, and the letter sent to the Assembly of Divines, now sitting in that kingdom, and to propound, consult, treat, and conclude with that Assembly, or any commissioner deputed, or any committee or commissioner deputed by the House of Parliament, in all matters which may further the union of this island, in one form of church-government, one Confession of Faith, one Catechism, one Directory for

the Worship of God, according to the instructions they have received from the Assembly, or shall receive from time to time hereafter, from the commissioners of the Assembly deputed for that effect." This commission was again renewed by several acts of subsequent Assemblies, till the year 1648. And it appears, that Lord Warriston not only used all diligence as a member of the Westminster Assembly, for bringing about the uniformity of religion in worship, discipline, and government, but also, for some time, sat as a member of the English parliament, concerting such methods as might bring about a firm and lasting peace betwixt the two kingdoms. And this, which then, and ever ought to be, reckoned a noble piece of service both to church and state, was afterwards, we find, accounted high treason in this worthy man.

For his upright and faithful dealing, in the many important matters committed to his charge, Lord Warriston had already received many marks of favour and dignity, both from church and state; but to crown all the rest, the Scots parliament, in 1646 made an act, appointing him Lord Advocate, and at the same time giving him the direction of the committee of London and Newcastle, and of the general officers of the army, which is a still further evidence, what a noble hand he had in carrying on the blessed work of reformation!

He had now been clerk to the General Assembly since the year 1638; and when in 1650, the act of classes being repealed, whereby malignants were again taken into places of power and trust, the unhappy difference fell out between those called protestors and resolutioners, Lord Warriston was one of those who had a principal hand in managing the affairs of the former party. He wrote a most solid letter to the meeting held at St. Andrews, July 18, 1651, which appears never to have been read, and respecting which consequently the protestors, in their reasons, proving the said meeting not to have been a lawful, full, or free General Assembly, have the following words: "Sir Archibald Johnston, clerk to the Assembly, a man undeniably faithful, singularly acquainted with the acts and proceedings of this kirk; and with the matters presently in controversy, and who hath been useful above many in the work of reformation, from the beginning, in all the steps thereof, both at home and abroad, having written his mind to the meeting, (not being able to come himself,) about the things that are to be agitated in the Assembly, and held out much clear light from the scriptures and from the acts of former Assemblies, in these particulars; albeit the letter was delivered publicly to the moderator, in face of the Assembly, and urged to be read by him who presented it, that the then moderator did break it up, to cause it be read; and that many members did thereafter, upon several occasions, and at several diets, press the reading of it, but it could never be obtained."

And further, the papers bearing the name of representations, propositions, protestations, &c. were presented, by him, in con-

junction with Messrs. Cant, Rutherford, Livingstone, &c. to the ministers and elders met at Edinburgh, July 24, 1652. And when the Marquis of Argyie, at London, procured an equal hearing to the protestors, and Mr. Simpson, one of the three ministers deposed by the Assembly of 1651, was sent up by them for that purpose, in the beginning of 1657, he, with the Rev. Messrs. Guthrie and Gillespie, the other two who had been deposed by that Assembly, were also deputed to assist Mr. Simpson.*

Lord Warriston had now, for five years or more, wrestled and acted, with all his power, for the King's interest; and, being a man of great resolution, both spoke and wrote openly against Scotchmen taking offices under the usurper: but being sent to London in the foresaid year, 1657, as already stated, and Cromwell being fully sensible how much it would be for his interest to gain such a man as Warriston over to his side, he prevailed upon him to re-enter the office of Clerk-register; a step which was much lamented by this worthy man afterwards.

Mr. Wodrow relates indeed that at the meeting at Edinburgh, which sent him to London, he to the utmost of his power opposed his being sent, acquainting them with what was his weak side, and that, through the easiness of his temper, he might not be able to resist importunity, yet, after all, he was peremptorily named.

To account for his conduct in this it may be observed:—His family was numerous; very considerable sums were owing him, which he had advanced on the public service, and a good many by-gone years' salaries; and he was thus, through importunity, prevailed on to side with the usurper, there being no other door then open for his relief. After his compliance, however, it was noticed that he was generally sad and melancholy, and that his outward affairs did not prosper so well as before.

In 1660 the King being restored to his dominions, and the noble Marquis of Argyie imprisoned, orders came down to seize Sir James Stuart, provost of Edinburgh, Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston, and Sir John Chiesly of Carswell. The first and last were apprehended and tried, but Lord Warriston escaped for a time, and therefore was summoned, by sound of trumpet, to surrender himself, and a proclamation issued for seizing him, promising a hundred pounds Scots to any who should do it, and discharging all from concealing or harbouring him, under pain of treason. A most arbitrary step indeed! not only to offer a reward for apprehending this worthy gentleman, but declaring it treason in any harbour him, and that without any cause assigned!

Upon the 10th of October following, he was, by order of the Council, declared fugitive; and on the first of February next year the indictment against him and other two gentlemen, viz. William Dundas and John Hume, was read in the House, none of them be-

* See Blair's Memoirs, p. 121

ing present. Warriston was forfeited, and his forfeiture publicly proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh. The principal articles of his indictment were, his pleading against Newton Gordon, when he had the King's express orders to plead for him ; his assisting in the Act of the West Kirk ; his drawing out, contriving, or consenting to, the paper called the *Western Remonstrance*, and the book called the *Causes of the Lord's Wrath* ; his sitting in parliament as a Peer in England, contrary to his oath ; his accepting the office of Clerk-register from the usurper ; and being president of the committee of safety when Richard Cromwell was laid aside. None of all these, however, were the real causes of this good man's sufferings. A personal prejudice and pique was at the bottom of all these bitter proceedings ; for the godly freedom he took in reproving vice, was what could never be forgotten or forgiven. In reference to an occasion on which this boldness was displayed, Mr. Wodrow makes the following statement : " I have an account of this holy freedom Lord Warriston used, from a reverend minister who was his chaplain at that time, and took freedom to advise my Lord not to adventure on it : yet this excellent person, having the glory of God and the honour of religion more in his eyes than his own safety, went on in his designed reproof, and would not, for a compliment, quit the peace he expected in his own conscience, be the event what it would, by disburdening himself ; he got a great many fair words, and it was pretended to be taken well from my Lord Register ; but, as he was told by his well-wishers, it was never forgot." As to his compliance with Cromwell he was not alone in that matter ; the greater part of the nation being involved therein as well as he ; and several of those who had been named trustees to the usurper, were all discharged from Court, except himself, (who was now in Scotland,) and ordered to appear before the parliament at the sitting thereof.

After the sentence of forfeiture and death had passed against him, he went abroad, to escape the fury of his enemies. Even there, however, did their crafty malice follow him ; for while at Hamburgh, being visited with sickness, it is said that Dr. Bates, one of King Charles's physicians, intending to kill him, prescribed poison to him instead of physic, and then caused to be drawn from him sixty ounces of blood ; in consequence of which he was not only brought near the gates of death, but so far lost his memory, that he could not remember what he had said or done a quarter of an hour before, and continued so until the day of his martyrdom.

Yet all this did not satisfy his cruel and blood-thirsty enemies ; while he was yet in life they sought him carefully ; and at last, he having gone unadvisedly to France, one Alexander Murray, being despatched in quest of him, apprehended him at Roan, while he was engaged in prayer, a duty wherein he much delighted. In January, 1663, he was brought over prisoner, and committed to the Tower of London, where he continued till the beginning of June, when he was sent down to Edinburgh to be executed.

His conduct during his passage was truly Christian. He landed at Leith on the 8th of that month, and was committed to the tolbooth of Edinburgh; from whence he was brought before the parliament on the 8th July. His nephew, Bishop Burnet, in his history, says, "he was so disordered, both in body and mind, it was a reproach to any government to proceed against him."

While at the bar of the House, he discovered such weakness of memory and judgment, that almost every person lamented him, except indeed Sharp and the other bishops, who scandalously and basely triumphed over, and publicly derided him. They seemed then to have forgotten, that, as the author of the Apologetical Relation, observes, "Lord Warriston was once in case not only to have been a member, but a president of any judicatory in Europe; and to have spoken for the cause and interest of Christ before kings, to the stopping of the mouths of gainsayers."

It appeared that many of the members of parliament were inclined to spare his life; but when the question was put, whether the time of his execution should be then fixed or delayed, Lauderdale interposed upon calling the rolls, and delivered a most dreadful speech for his present execution. Sentence was accordingly pronounced, that he be hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh, on the 22d of July, and his head placed on the Nether Bow, beside that of Mr. Guthrie. This sentence he received with such meekness as filled all with admiration; for he then desired, that his best blessings, whatever might befall himself, might be on church and state, and on his Majesty, and that God would give him true and faithful counsellors.

During the whole time of his imprisonment, he was in a most spiritual and tender frame, to the conviction almost of his very enemies; and the nearer his death approached, the composure of his mind became the more conspicuous. He rested agreeably the night before his execution, and in the morning was full of consolation, sweetly expressing his assurance of being clothed with a long white robe, and of having a new song, in praise of the Lamb put into his mouth. Before noon he dined with cheerfulness, "hoping to sup in heaven, and to drink the next cup fresh and new in his Father's kingdom."

After spending some time in secret prayer, he was taken from prison about two o'clock, attended by several of his friends in mourning, though he himself was full of holy cheerfulness and courage, and in perfect serenity of mind. When come to the scaffold, he called frequently to the people, "Your prayers, your prayers." When mounted upon it, he said, "I entreat you, quiet yourselves a little, till this dying man deliver his last speech among you;" and desired them not to be offended at his making use of the paper to help his memory, it being so much impaired by long sickness and the malice of physicians. He then read his speech, first on the one side of the scaffold, and then on the other. In this speech, after a short preamble, stating that what he intended to have spoken at his death, was not now in his power, it being taken from him

and hoping the Lord would preserve it to be his testimony ; stating also that being now for sometime in a most melancholy circumstance, through long and sore sickness and loss of blood, he, in the first place, confesseth his sins ; pleads for forgiveness ; bewails his compliance with the usurper, although, as he said, he was not alone in that offence, but had the body of the nation going before him, and the example of all ranks to ensnare him. He then declares his adherence to the covenanted work of reformation, earnestly desiring the prayers of all the Lord's people ; and vindicates himself from having any accession to the late King's death, and to the making of the change of government ; and taking the great God of heaven to witness between him and his accusers. And at last he concluded with these words ; " I do here now submit, and commit my soul and body, wife and children, and children's children, from generation to generation for ever, with all others His friends and followers, all His doing and suffering witnesses, sympathizing ones in present and subsequent generations, unto the Lord's choice mercies, graces, favours, services, employments, enjoyments, and inheritments on earth, and in heaven, in time and all eternity ; all which suits, with all others which he hath, at any time, by his Spirit, moved and assisted me to put up, according to his will, I leave before and upon the Father's merciful bowels, the Son's mediating merits, and the Holy Spirit's compassionate groans, both now and for evermore. Amen."*

After reading of his speech, he prayed with great fervour and liberty, and, being in a rapture, he began thus : " Abba, Father ! Accept this thy poor sinful servant, coming unto thee, through the merits of Jesus Christ." Then taking leave of his friends, he prayed again, being now near the end of the sweet work he had so much, through the course of his time, been employed in. No ministers were allowed to be with him ; but it was, by those present, observed, that God sufficiently made up that want. He was helped up the ladder by some of his friends in deep mourning ; and, as he ascended, he said, " Your prayers, your prayers. Your prayers, I desire in the name of the Lord." Such was the esteem he had for that duty.

When got to the top of the ladder, he cried out with a loud voice, " I beseech you all who are the people of God, not to scare at suffering for the interest of Christ, or stumble at anything of this kind falling out in these days ; but be encouraged to suffer for him, for I assure you, in the name of the Lord, he will bear your charges." While the rope was putting about his neck, he repeated these words again ; adding, " The Lord hath graciously comforted me." When the executioner desired his forgiveness, he said, " The Lord forgive thee, poor man ;" and withal gave him some money, bidding him do his office if he was ready ; and crying out, " O pray, pray ! Praise, praise, praise,"—he was turned over ; and died

* See Naphtali, and the Appendix to Wodrow's History

almost without any struggle, with his hands lifted up to heaven, whither his soul ascended, to enjoy the beatific presence of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

He was cut down shortly after, his head struck off, and set up beside that of his dear friend Mr. Guthrie,* and his body carried to the Grayfriars' church yard. But his head, soon after, by the interest and intercession of Lieutenant-general Drummond, who was married to one of his daughters, was taken down and interred with his body.

Thus stood and thus fell, the eminently pious and learned Lord Warriston, whose talents as a speaker in the senate, as well as on the bench, are too well known to be here insisted upon; and who, for prayer, was one among a thousand. Though for some time greatly borne down with weakness and distress, yet he never came in the least to doubt of his eternal happiness; and used to say, "I dare never question my salvation, I have so often seen God's face in the house of prayer." As the last cited historian observes, "Although his memory and talents were for some time impaired, yet, like the sun at his setting, after being a while under a cloud, he shone forth most brightly and surprisingly, and so in some measure the more sweetly; for that morning he was under an effusion of the Spirit, as great perhaps as many have had since the primitive times."

He wrote a large diary, which yet remains in the hands of his relations. In this we have a valuable treasure both of Christian experience and matters of fact little known at present, which might be of great use to the history of that period, and in it he records his sure hopes, (after much wrestling in which he was mightily

* Perhaps this may be the proper place to introduce an observation formerly omitted, as to the extraordinary fact mentioned in page 248, respecting the blood which, weeks after his death, was said to have dropped from Guthrie's head. It is there stated, that "Middleton's coach coming down that way, several drops of blood fell upon it, which all their art could not eradicate," and the fact has also been recorded by Wodrow, Burnet, and other historians. Now that it was then reported and believed there can be no doubt; but still it does not seem to come to us with such evidence of its truth, as to induce a well founded belief of a miraculous interposition. It perhaps owed its credit with the public to the long train of important consequences which Mr. Guthrie's death might appear to draw along with it. His execution, and that of his companion, may be held as the commencement of a new series of sufferings to the church of Scotland. Much had been suffered from the pedantic tyranny of James, and the sullen despotism of Charles I. A short respite had been enjoyed during what is called the usurpation of Cromwell; though even then the state and liberty of the church were far enough from being what the faithful desired and laboured to obtain. But all that had been suffered, from the first dawn of reformation, was as nothing in comparison of what the faithful presbyterians of Scotland were called to endure, from the Restoration of Charles II. in 1660, to the Revolution in 1688. Charles himself was a profligate debauchee; and he committed the government of Scotland to men of little character, who revelled in the precious blood of God's saints, as if it had been for mere sport. This has, above all others, been called the "suffering period," in Scotland, of which a most ample account is to be found in Wodrow's History.

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helped,) that the church of Scotland would be manifestly visited and freed from the evils she had then fallen under. His numerous family, whom he so often committed to the Lord's providence, were, for the most part, as well provided for as could have been expected, though he had continued with them. And, in short, in him we doubt not was realized the animating promise of the Faithful and True Witness. *He that overcometh shall be clothed in white raiment, and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life: but I will confess his name before my Father and his angels.*

JAMES WOOD.

SHORTLY after the year 1651, we find that Mr. Wood was made provost or principal of the old college of St. Andrews, and one of the ministers of that town; and being one who in judgment fell in with the resolution party, there was unfortunately some difference betwixt him and Mr. Rutherford, at that time professor of divinity in the new college; and yet the latter had ever a high esteem for Mr. Wood, as appears from a message he sent to him when on his deathbed, saying, "Tell Mr. James Wood from me, I heartily forgive him all the wrongs he hath done, and desire him from me to declare himself the man he still is for the government of the church of Scotland." And truly he was not deceived in him; Mr. Wood was most faithful to the Presbyterian government, nothing could prevail upon him to comply in the least degree with abjured Prelacy. So far was he from this, that, on the contrary, the apostacy and treachery of others, whom he had too much trusted, particularly the aggravated defection and perfidy of Mr. Sharp, whom he termed Judas, Demas, and Gehazi, all in one, when he had found what part he had acted, broke his upright spirit.*

* In proof of this the following anecdote is quoted from the life of Veitch. Having come to Edinburgh with the purpose of being introduced to the prison, to see his brother-in-law, Mr. John Carstairs, by means of Mr. Veitch's influence with the Commissioner Middleton; it being during the sitting of the Parliament in 1661, and having a curiosity to see Sharp, whom he had not seen since he became Bishop, he requested Mr. Veitch to accompany him to the shop of one Glen, where it was understood that Sharp would alight. The Archbishop accordingly came up in the Commissioner's coach, and coming first out, and turning with his head uncovered to receive the Commissioner, they had a full view of his face, upon which Mr. Wood looked very seriously; and then with much emotion, uttered these words: "O thou Judas, apostate traitor, that hast betrayed the famous Presbyterian church of Scotland to its utter ruin, as far as thou canst,—If I know any thing of the mind of God, thou shalt not die the ordinary and common death of men." And though this was spoken eighteen years before, it was exactly accomplished in 1679. See Veitch's Life as lately published under the auspices of Dr. Mc'Crie, p. 13.

He continued in the exercise of the foresaid offices until 1663, when, at the instigation of Bishop Sharp, he received a charge to appear before the Council, to answer to some things laid to his charge: for though Sharp was indebted to him for any reputation he had; and was under as great obligations to him as one man could be to another, yet now he could not bear the thought of his continuing any longer there, and he caused him to be cited before the Council.

On comparing he was interrogated—How he came to be provost of the college of St. Andrews?—When he began to answer, he was interrupted in a very huffing manner, and commanded to give his answer in a word; it appeared that the Archbishop and others present, could not endure his telling some truths he was entering upon. He told them, however, he was called by the faculty of that college, at the recommendation of the usurper, “as some here,” added he, (meaning Bishop Sharp), “very well know.” Upon this he was removed, and a little after called in again, and his sentence intimated to him, which was, “That the Lords of Council, for the present, do declare the said place to be vacant, and ordain and command him to confine himself within the city of Edinburgh, and not to depart from thence until further orders.” When he heard the sentence, he told them he was sorry they had condemned a person without hearing him, whom they could not charge with the breach of any law. In September following Bishop Sharp got the charge and privileges of the office; which shows that he had some reason for pushing Mr. Wood out of it.

Upon the 30th of the same month, Mr. Wood presented a petition to the Council, showing,—That his father was extremely sick, that he had several necessary affairs at St. Andrews, and desired liberty to go there for these reasons. This petition being read, with a certificate of his father's infirmity, the Council granted license to the petitioner to go to St. Andrews to visit his father, and perform his other necessary affairs; always returning when he should be called by the Council.

Thus he continued till toward the beginning of the year 1664, when he took the sickness of which he died; and though he suffered not in his body as several of his brethren did, yet the Archbishop, it appears, was resolved to ruin his name and reputation after death, if not sooner, and in order to this he saw meet, once or twice, to visit him when on his death-bed. He was now extremely low in body, and spoke very little to the Primate, and nothing at all about the changes made in the state of public affairs. However, the consequence of these visits was,—that Sharp spread a rumour, to the effect that Mr. Wood, being now under views of death and eternity, professed himself very indifferent as to church government, and declared himself as much for Episcopacy as Presbytery; nay, he boldly asserted, that he had declared to himself, that Presbyterian government was indifferent, and alterable at the pleasure of the Magistrate; and even had the impudence, says Wodrow, to write an account of this to Court before Mr. Wood's death. This latter cir-

cumstance indeed was in so far fortunate, for the report coming to the ears of this good man, added grief to all his other sorrows, and he could have no rest till he vindicated himself from the calumny, by a solemn testimony, which he himself dictated and subscribed upon the 2d of March, before two witnesses and a public notary. This testimony, being burnt by order of the high commission, in April following, deserves a place here.

"I JAMES WOOD, being very shortly, by appearance, to render up my spirit to the Lord, find myself obliged to leave a word behind me for my vindication before the world. It hath been said of me, that I have, in word at least, departed from my wonted zeal for the Presbyterian government, expressing myself concerning it, as if it were a matter not to be accounted of, and that no man should trouble himself therefore in matter of practice. Surely any Christian that knows me in this kirk, will judge that this is a wrong done to me. It is true, that I being under sickness, have said sometimes, in conference about my soul's state, that I was taken up about greater business than any thing of that kind; and what wonder I said so, being under such wrestling anent my interest in Jesus Christ, which is a matter of far greater concernment than any external ordinance? But for my estimation of Presbyterian government, the Lord knoweth, that since the day he convinced my heart, which was by a strong hand, that it is the ordinance of God, appointed by Jesus Christ, for governing and ordering his visible church, I never had the least change of thought concerning the necessity of it, nor of the necessity of the use of it. And I declare before God and the world, that I still account so of it; and that, however there may be some more precious ordinances, that is so precious, that a true Christian is obliged to lay down his life for the profession thereof, if the Lord shall see meet to put him to trial; and for myself, if I were to live, I would account it my glory to seal this word of my testimony with my blood. Of this declaration I take God, angels, and men, to be my witnesses; and have subscribed these presents, at St. Andrews, on the 2d March, 1664, about seven hours in the afternoon, before these witnesses, &c.

MR. WILLIAM TULLIDAFF,

MR. JOHN CARSTAIRS,*

JOHN PITCAIRN. *Writer*

JAMES WOOD."

* In a letter by this eminent individual, which the curious reader will find in the appendix to Dr. McCrie's edition of the lives of Veitch and Brysson, we have a very interesting account, and a very complete vindication of the deed to which, as a witness, his name is here annexed. Mr. Carstairs, as already mentioned, was brother-in-law to Mr. Wood. He had been minister in the High Church of Glasgow, but like many others was now ousted from his charge. In these circumstances he was called to be present at the death-bed of his friend, and for this, and his signing the above testimony, he was soon after cited to appear before the Council. It was in reference to this summons that he wrote the letter in question to the then chancellor, in which, as we have said, by an affecting detail of the cir-

After this he uttered many heavenly expressions to persons who came to see him, all setting forth the sweet experience of his soul, until, upon the 5th of March, he made a happy and glorious exit, exchanging this present life for a crown of righteousness.

Mr. Wood was among the brightest lights of that period. He had been colleague to Mr. Sharp, and after the Restoration, he lamented much that he had been so long deceived by that unhappy man. It is also said, that before his death he lamented much his having taken part with the public resolutioners.

"I have been informed," says Wodrow, "that he left some very valuable manuscripts behind him, particularly a complete refutation of the Arminian scheme of doctrine, ready for the press, which doubtless, if published, would be of no small use in this age, when Arminianism hath so far got the ascendant." He also refuted the Independents, and asserted Presbyterial government, as is evident from his work written in opposition to Nicholas Lockier's "Little Stone hewed out of the Mountain," and his other books that are in print.

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